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CARRILLO

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A Review Article

Carrillo's 'Eurocommunism' and the State

High Stakes in Conflict Over Carrillo

By Gerry Foley

With the Kremlin's denunciation of Spanish CP leader Santiago Carrillo as a splitter and pro-NATO betrayer, the prolonged tug of war between Moscow and the West European and Japanese CPs seems to be rapidly turning into an open faction fight in the world Stalinist movement.

The Kremlin's attack on Carrillo is still limited. It was launched in a little-read magazine and has not been picked up in the major Soviet press.

The cutting edge of the article was also dulled by statements about the need for CPs to be able to adjust their line to the conditions in their own countries.

Nonetheless, charging Carrillo with being a splitter and a supporter of an "aggressive military alliance" aimed against the Soviet Union and the East European countries implies an attempt to drive him out of the Spanish CP leadership and bring the party to heel, no matter what the cost.

The Soviet attack was clearly aimed at all the CPs that have been trying to clean their skirts of the taint of dictatorial Stalinist rule by criticizing repression in the USSR and East Europe. However, so far only Carrillo and other such semi-outcasts as the "interior" faction of the Greek CP have responded to it with any signs of determination.

The French and Italian CPs in particular have so far sought to avoid drawing fire in their direction. Despite this opportunistic wavering, all the "Eurocommunist" parties have a very large stake in the policies that have aroused the Kremlin bureaucrats. So, the conflict is likely to continue and may well escalate.

In any case, something more and more like an open faction fight has developed, directly involving the interests of hundreds of thousands of militant workers in the Stalinist parties in the advanced capitalist countries, as well as those of the workers oppressed by the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies themselves.

This conflict is potentially far more damaging to the Kremlin and to Stalinism in general than the Sino-Soviet break, in which only the state interests of the two ruling bureaucracies were involved.

The rebel Chinese bureaucracy had neither the capacity nor the interest to make a serious appeal to workers in the advanced capitalist countries or in the USSR and East Europe. It was able to influence only the most ossified Stalin-worshippers, stray opportunists, and some radicalizing petty-bourgeois youth.

In fact, the prospect of the future disintegration of Stalinism has evidently alarmed the editors of the *New York Times*, which generally reflects the views of the most far-sighted sections of the American ruling class. In an editorial July 1, they wrote that one reason the "West" should not "pray for their [the "Eurocommunist" CPs] accession to power" was the following:

... because sudden—as opposed to gradual—challenge to totalitarian power in Eastern Europe would be an invitation to uprisings that the West cannot fully support without unacceptable risk. . . .

Further on, the editorial said:

Vigorous and striving for power, the Eurocommunists are agents of corrosion throughout Eastern Europe. Once elevated to power, and precisely to the degree that they became acceptable to democrats, they could destabilize the

entire continent.

The *New York Times* editors, in effect, admitted:

1. One of the things that can rapidly bring down the Stalinist dictatorships is the rise of democratic socialist movements in the advanced capitalist countries.

2. The U.S. capitalists do not want to see revolutions against the Stalinist bureaucracies and have no intention of supporting them.

3. The prospect of socialism freed from the specter of Stalinist dictatorship will "destabilize" the present world order.

Assessing the implications of an international struggle in the CPs over the issue of democratic rights, the editors of the *New York Times* acknowledged the points bourgeois ideologists try hardest to cover up! This is a good indication of their agitation.

The complete breakdown of Stalinist authority, of the monolithic Stalinist machines, and of Stalinist mythology would, in fact, remove a major obstacle to the development and spread of socialist revolutions.

For the U.S. imperialists, as we can see from the mood of the editors of the *New York Times*, the very thought of such a possibility is unnerving. □

Why Carter Dumped the B-1 Bomber

By Fred Murphy

Liberals in the United States were pleased with Jimmy Carter's decision—announced June 30—to forego production of the B-1 bomber for the time being.

Carter's "finest moment," Tom Wicker said in the *New York Times*. The decision evoked "maximum gratitude among the liberals," Mary McGrory said in the *New York Post*. Senator Frank Church offered "three cheers" for Carter, and Senator George McGovern praised the president's "rational analysis."

Carter carefully set the stage for his announcement. He and his aides dropped hints to reporters and Congressional backers of the plane that the Pentagon would most likely get an OK to produce half the number of B-1's requested. Thus the surprise, the headlines, and the applause of the liberals.

Despite the show, Carter really gave the green light to escalating the arms race. Coupled with his veto of the B-1, Carter said he would "begin deployment of cruise missiles, using air-launched platforms such as our B-52's, modernized as necessary."

The cruise missile—actually a small pilotless plane—is equipped with two ultrasophisticated guidance systems that give it high accuracy.

... the strategic version is capable of a range of 2,000 kilometers at low altitude and perhaps 50 percent more if the first 1,500 kilometers are flown at higher altitude and the rest at treetop level. . . .

... it is expected that the strategic sea-launched cruise missile will have an accuracy of some 100 meters. ["Cruise Missiles," by Kosta Tsiapis, *Scientific American* magazine, February 1977, pp. 23-24.]

The cruise missile can carry nuclear warheads of up to 200 kilotons (fifteen times the power of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima).

Pentagon chief Harold Brown explained some of the considerations behind Carter's decision at a July 1 news conference:

The B-1 would have been a more attractive option had it been 30 percent less expensive, but I believe that the technology of the cruise missile development played a larger part. . . .

What we have found during the last year is that cruise missiles are harder to see even than had been expected . . . and they also can fly even lower than we were sure they could. . . .

Both of these things make them more certain of penetration than a penetrating bomber, including the B-1.

Carter's intention to opt for the "cost-effective," technologically advanced cruise missile over the B-1 was signaled in March, when Secretary of State Vance

proposed in Moscow that cruise missiles be excluded from any new arms limitation agreement. This was made quite explicit by Brown, who "told reporters at the Pentagon that the U.S. does not intend to bargain away the Cruise missile in forthcoming strategic arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union" (*New York Daily News*, July 2).

The motivation for such a position is clear from Tsipis's comment that "according to official accounts the U.S. is at least 10 years ahead [of the Soviet Union] in the technologies relevant to cruise-missile development" (*Scientific American*, page 29).

Research and testing of the few B-1's already built will continue while cruise missiles are deployed. Meanwhile, more technological wonders are on the way for the Pentagon's arsenal.

Funding for the production of an "enhanced radiation warhead," or neutron bomb, was recently found buried in a "public works" appropriations bill.

The neutron bomb—the ideal capitalist weapon—kills people while doing little or no damage to surrounding buildings and property; it leaves no radioactive debris. For Senator John Stennis, development of the bomb was "the best news I have heard in years." Stennis won two key votes to preserve funding for this deadly new weapon in a secret Senate session on July 1.

Carter wants the appropriation voted so that he will have "maximum flexibility" in reaching a decision by October 1 on whether to go ahead with the neutron warhead. His press secretary, Jody Powell, explained that the president "has an abhorrence of nuclear weapons, period, as well as other types of weapons." But he went on to give arguments that "if it (a nuclear weapon) has to be used . . . there will be many fewer civilian casualties (with the neutron variety) than with the standard types of weapons" (*Washington Post*, June 25).

Perhaps. But that is precisely what makes this new bomb so attractive to the warmakers. Pentagon advocates have called it a more credible "deterrent" since it "just might be used on the battlefield without leading to automatic nuclear escalation" (*Washington Post*, June 6).

The neutron bomb will also give the Pentagon yet another big advantage over the Soviet Union. Walter Pincus writes in the June 25 *Washington Post*:

"Another justification for enhanced radiation, according to a top Defense official, is that the Soviet Army in Europe 'would have a major re-equipment problem to defend against this [neutron] weapon.' . . .

"Introduction of the new generation of neutron shells and warheads,' the Defense official concluded, 'would put the Soviets back 20 years in their new military acquisitions.'" □

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The Kremlin's Attack on Carrillo

By Gerry Foley

Through its attack on Spanish Communist Party chief Santiago Carrillo as an "anti-Soviet" and pro-NATO "revisionist," the Kremlin has sharply stepped up the tempo of its struggle against the "deviations" of the West European and Japanese CPs.

The tone and scope of the blast left no doubt that the Soviet bureaucracy feels endangered by the criticisms of dictatorial rule in the USSR that the big nonruling CPs have been forced to make in an attempt to avoid being bypassed by newly radicalizing layers in their own countries.

The Kremlin chose *Novoye Vremya* (New Times) as the vehicle for its sharpest polemics with representatives of the big nonruling CPs. This weekly magazine, published in French, German, Spanish, Polish, Czech, and Arabic, as well as Russian and English, is a particularly lackluster product in the dreary field of Soviet publications. It is unlikely to be read by anyone except those who have to follow the Kremlin line on a professional basis.

The attack on Carrillo came in the June 23 issue of *New Times*. It was ostensibly focused on the CP leader's recent book "*Eurocomunismo*" y *Estado* ("Eurocommunism" and the State). Carrillo was accused of preparing the way for a split in the world Communist movement:

There is no doubt that the interpretation Santiago Carrillo gives to 'Eurocommunism' corresponds solely and exclusively to the interests of imperialism and to the forces of aggression and reaction. The practical application of this concept would lead to grave negative consequences, from which the first to suffer would be the Communists in the capitalist countries, including, of course, those in Spain itself.

The practical application of his interpretation would lead, finally, to splitting the international Communist movement, that is, to achieving precisely what has been the objective of the aggressive forces of imperialism for so many decades.

The article tried to prove this charge by quoting the April 25 issue of *L'Europeo*, a flashy and not very serious Italian bourgeois weekly magazine, which said:

Eurocommunism is first of all the means of 'pluralizing' Communism, that is splitting it up into distinct, mutually antagonistic parties. Secondly it is a political current that (for precisely these reasons) corresponds to the interests of international political stability.

The *New Times* writer commented:



BREZHNEV: Alarmed at Carrillo's tactic of boring from within.

That is, Eurocommunism corresponds to the interests of defending the political status quo that suits the aims of imperialism, of the United States.

The irony is that the Kremlin organ, using the words of a sensationalist bourgeois magazine, made the same charge against the leader of the Spanish CP that was previously raised against it itself by its Spanish "sister party," namely seeking to defend the status quo. It was this charge in fact that provoked the first big public attack on the Spanish Stalinists by a Kremlin organ.

Polemics Began in 1974

The polemics opened in an article in the February 1974 issue of *Partiinaya Zhizn* (Party Life). What ostensibly prompted the Soviet attack was a report to the September 1973 Spanish CP Central Committee plenum by Manuel Azcárate, a close collaborator of Carrillo. The Kremlin's charge was as follows:

In his report M. Azcárate crudely distorts the foreign policy of the USSR and the other socialist countries, as well as the international activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union. He presents the lying thesis that there is some kind of contradiction between the state interests of the socialist countries and those of the revolutionary movement.

He declares, for instance, that when the leaders of the Communist parties in the socialist countries talk about international events, they usually speak only as "governmental figures" and that "their thoughts and words . . . almost always are motivated by diplomatic considerations," and therefore do not concern revolutionists. In another place in his report, M. Azcárate recommends "separating" forms of internationalism from state questions.

Thus, regardless of his intent, M. Azcárate in essence counterposes the interests of the socialist countries to the interests of the revolutionary movement, to the interests of the individual sister parties. Obviously, posing the question in this way fundamentally contradicts the principles of socialism in the existing practice of the revolutionary struggle.

The same accusation of dividing the Communist camp was included, but this, *Partiinaya Zhizn* charged, was because the Spanish leadership at the time was allegedly not sufficiently appreciative of the Soviet Union's efforts to achieve "peaceful coexistence"; that is, maintain the status quo.

The main objection M. Azcárate makes against the policy of peaceful coexistence is that the conduct of this policy by the socialist countries, in particular by the Soviet Union, involves strengthening the political status quo in the world.

In this, the article argued, Azcárate had an inconsistent position.

M. Azcárate is forced to acknowledge the importance of the negotiations between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and President Nixon. Indeed, the Soviet-American agreements had a very important effect in improving the climate of international relations in general. They were an important step toward being able to avoid situations in the future that might threaten the general peace. Does this contradict the interests of the revolutionary movement? Is it in the interests of the revolutionary movement to create international tension, fraught with the dangers of a new world war? At their 1969 conference, the Communist and Workers parties signed a statement that "the fundamental link in the united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the fight against the danger of war, the danger of world thermonuclear war.

Partiinaya Zhizn drove the point home:

It is, obviously, worth recalling that in the period of the "cold war" and international tension, the conditions for class struggle in the capitalist countries were extremely unfavorable. . . .

It is no accident, for example, that the French Communist and Socialist parties reached agreement on a common governmental program at a time when the Soviet-French state relationships have been developing in conditions of reinforced peaceful coexistence.

In fact, the argument between the Spanish CP leadership and the Kremlin in 1974 had nothing to do with "peaceful coexistence" or their attitude toward the status quo. Both fully accepted and still

accept the perspective of maintaining the status quo.

That is, the CPs, especially in the most industrially advanced capitalist countries and those closest to the imperialist centers, according to this line, have to hold back any mass struggles that might frighten the imperialists. Carrillo made this point absolutely clear in his book "*Eurocomunismo*" y Estado; in fact, it is central to the entire work and is repeated over and over again. Yet, although this book is supposed to be the target of the *New Times* article, not the slightest objection is raised against this point.

Who Pays the Piper?

The real dispute in 1974 as now was over who is going to pay the political price for the policy of "peaceful coexistence," i.e., class collaborationism. A contradiction exists between the immediate interests of the Soviet bureaucracy and those of the Communist parties in capitalist countries.

If the Kremlin embraces a reactionary regime abroad, it does not have to answer to the Soviet workers. They have no way of knowing what is really going on and still less of expressing their opinion about it. But if Moscow and the other Stalinist workers states cozy up to reactionary antilabor regimes in a country where a large Communist party exists, that Communist party can be seriously embarrassed and even suffer losses.

Thus, the fact that the Stalinist regime in Poland took advantage of the Asturian coal miners' strike in 1971-72 to make some profitable coal sales to the Franco regime caused problems for the Spanish CP.

Likewise, the chummy relations between Moscow and the Gaullist governments put the French CP in an increasingly difficult position. This fact is well known and probably explains why *Partiinaya Zhizn* decided to try to offer an example of the blessings the French CP allegedly derived from cordial relations between the Elysée and the Kremlin.

The Spanish CP leaders, as well as those of other CPs that now have, or hope to have, enough support in the working class of their own countries so as not to be totally dependent on their identification with Stalinist state power, think that the ruling bureaucracies should also pay some of the political price for peaceful coexistence policies.

Thus, if the détente plus the radicalization generated by the world capitalist economic crisis make it possible for the CPs to aspire to a role in capitalist governments, the Soviet bureaucracy should accept the need of these parties to improve their image in the eyes of the newly radicalizing voters by doing what is necessary to clear themselves of the taint of Stalinist dictatorship.

However, the fact that the Western CPs have more and more been giving up the

attempt to defend the bureaucracies' totalitarian rule and taken to criticizing bureaucratic repression, and even to openly siding with outlawed opposition currents, represents a deadly threat to the Stalinist rulers. They know from experience what happens the minute their police-state rule weakens. The masses immediately start throwing the bureaucrats out, and may even hang some of them. The bureaucrats appreciate the electoral problems of the Western CPs, as they have often made clear, but they are not willing to risk their necks to help them out.

The result of this difference in immediate interests is that the disputes between the Kremlin and the nonruling CPs resemble a falling out of thieves. Each side is trying to incriminate the other by pointing to the opportunistic positions they all hold in common.

The moral level of the conflict is indicated by the fact that the Kremlin waited until the Spanish CP made a relatively poor showing in the elections before launching its attack.

In a June 27 news conference Carrillo responded by saying: "My only complaint is that this attack was not launched eight days before the elections, because probably it would have gotten us many thousands of votes."

Actually, dissociating itself from the Kremlin is not going to do the Spanish CP any good unless it puts up more of a fight for the interests of the workers and oppressed nationalities in Spain. Its betrayal of the Basque struggle for the release of political prisoners led to its getting only one percent of the vote in Guipúzcoa, one of the Basque provinces.

The Kremlin huffs and puffs over some of Carrillo's criticisms:

According to S. Carrillo's opinion what has developed in the USSR does not correspond to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. He asserts that the October revolution produced a type of state which "without being bourgeois cannot be regarded as a state of workers democracy in which the organized proletariat constitutes the ruling class."

And all this is said about a country where the working class is the leading force in society, where the working class, together with the peasants and the intelligentsia, exercises all power. . . .

Is S. Carrillo unaware of all this [i.e., the beauties of workers democracy in the USSR]? Of course, he is well aware of it. . . .

No. S. Carrillo did not publish all these slanders against socialism, against our country, out of ignorance. This is conscious anti-Sovietism.

Especially revealing is his recent interview in the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*, in which he not only denies the right of our country to call itself a socialist democracy but calls openly for "transforming it," that is, he calls for a struggle against the existing system of rule. The profound hostility to our country of all these views is obvious.

The Kremlin publicists were hardly

unaware that such arguments would not impress the Soviet workers or much of the ranks of the Western CPs. What they tried to hang Carrillo on, in fact, is his alleged attitude toward NATO:

His [Carrillo's] third aim is to reject all the conclusions the European Communist parties have adopted in common and the goals they have marked out in the struggle for the interests of the working class and all the toilers for the defense of peace, democracy, and social progress.

Against these conclusions and these goals, he proposes a program that in essence leads not only to perpetuating the division of Europe into opposing blocs but—what is more—to strengthening the aggressive NATO alliance.

In fact, what Carrillo says about NATO in his book corresponds entirely to the Kremlin's "peaceful coexistence" line and to the attitude taken in practice by the Portuguese CP leadership, which is still a totally servile follower of the Kremlin and the recipient of nothing but solicitous smiles from its master.

For example, in the February 20, 1975, issue of the *Wall Street Journal*, which is written specifically for American business circles, staff reporter Ray Vickers wrote:

Sometimes Mr. Cunhal [the Portuguese CP general secretary] sounds so moderate that you have to recheck his history to make sure he doesn't belong to some middle-class party. . . . He discourages strikes, mutes any criticism of NATO, avoids vitriolic propaganda and extends a hand toward America.

Cunhal himself was quoted as saying about NATO:

We are not in favor of such military alliances. Still, this isn't the time to consider the question. It should be settled within the larger framework of European security.

In the June 5, 1975, issue of the Portuguese CP organ *Avante*, the statements of then Premier Vasco Gonçalves, a CP ally, at the NATO council meeting were quoted favorably under the headline: "The International Policy of Free Portugal." The CP paper introduced Gonçalves's statements as follows:

The premier's presence for four days was the event that drew most attention from the politicians and journalists gathered at the NATO summit. It was the presence of the Portuguese revolution.

His statements cleared up false estimations of our revolutionary process and enabled outstanding Western statesmen to . . . get a true picture of the situation in Portugal. It was a victory of the Portuguese revolution and the Armed Forces Movement.

Under the subheading "Portugal and NATO," *Avante* quoted Gonçalves as saying:

We are in NATO and do not want to be a Trojan horse in this organization. We think that our remaining in the alliance is positive in the sense of not prejudicing the balance of forces on which the security system in Europe is based.

Since this line toward NATO represents

the "peaceful coexistence" line set by Moscow, it is treachery for the Kremlin to try to incriminate an insubordinate stooge simply for following it. This method should be a lesson to the CP leaders about the kind of "fraternal loyalty" to be expected from the Soviet bureaucrats.

Can Carrillo Survive?

If Carrillo has been able to survive the Kremlin's displeasure so far, in fact, it has been only because, within the limitations of his commitment to the general Stalinist strategy and outlook, he has fought back politically on certain points. At a news conference June 27 he staged a strong public counterattack, openly bringing up the possibility that the Kremlin will try again, as it did in the early 1970s, to organize a faction against him:

But if they do, I'm sure they will fail again. And if they tried something like this in Italy or France, I am sure that this kind of politics would not be successful, because the period has ended in which one country directed the Communist movement.

The fact that Carrillo made such a sharp response to the Kremlin's attack was undoubtedly the key to his success in getting the entire Spanish CP leadership to line up behind him in an important show of unity.

Any wavering in the face of Moscow's anathema would have been fatal. It would prove demoralizing to the ranks and offer ambitious bureaucrats a chance to vie for Soviet patronage.

The weak response of Carrillo's French and Italian allies to this attack does not augur well for their "independence" from Moscow. If they do not put up more of a fight, they will either be forced to isolate themselves from the radicalizing masses in their own countries or be decimated by Kremlin factional operations.

In his June 27 news conference, Carrillo boasted that his party "may have means of defending itself that are greater than those of a state." In fact, a CP can defend itself effectively only by means of support from the workers in its own country. And winning such support requires putting the workers' interests above those of "peaceful coexistence" with the capitalists nationally and internationally.

Otherwise, the nonruling CPs may be torn to pieces by the contradictions of Stalinist opportunism. □

Students Protest in Panama

Police broke up a demonstration of about 200 students who had gathered in front of the United States embassy June 27. The students, who shouted "Yankees go home," had staged a protest earlier in front of the Panamanian foreign ministry.

Prisoners Perish in Cells

Tennessee Jail Fire Kills 42

A fire broke out in the Maury County Jail in Columbia, Tennessee, on June 26, killing forty-two persons and critically injuring ten or fifteen others.

Thirty-four of those killed were prisoners, and eight were visitors. Several members of two families were among those who died.

The fire began in a padded cell occupied by a sixteen-year-old youth, Andrew Zimmer. The deaths were caused by cyanide fumes and carbon monoxide released by the vinyl-covered plastic foam padding as it burned. The poisonous gases were swept through the jail by the ventilation system.

Zimmer was flown to a hospital in Nashville, Tennessee, for treatment of burns. He is being charged with arson.

The fire started at 1:55 p.m., during visiting hours. About thirty of the jail's sixty-five inmates and forty or fifty visitors were in the open cellblock visiting area. As billows of black smoke filled the jail, visitors rushed to the locked door to the jail lobby being guarded by a sheriff's deputy, knocking the keys from his hand.

The prisoners remained locked in their

cells as officials scrambled for the keys. It took twelve minutes to find them. Meanwhile, a duplicate set of keys hung on the wall in the jailer's office, but no one thought of using them.

Deputies notified the city police and asked them to send a bulldozer to knock down the wall, but it took almost an hour for the bulldozer to arrive. Some prisoners were freed by knocking holes in the reinforced concrete wall of the jail with a sledge hammer. When firemen arrived, they were able to unlock the rest of the cells, but by then it was too late.

State fire officials acknowledged that they had known for two years that the tests used to determine that the material used in the foam padding was nonflammable "may not have been appropriate," according to a report in the June 28 issue of the *New York Times*. However, they said, it was not their responsibility to alert local jails to the possible fire hazard.

When asked whether the jail had established any evacuation procedure in case of fire, Maury County Sheriff Bill Voss said, "We thought we had a fireproof jail." □

Appeal for Palestinian Prisoners in Israeli Jails

[The following appeal for grievously ill Palestinian prisoners held in Israeli jails is being circulated internationally by the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, P.O. Box 14192, Tel Aviv.]

* * *

We wish to ask your help for several prisoners who are suffering from grievous physical illness or incapability. In spite of our request for good medical help in prison or a release on compassionate grounds, we were not successful in obtaining from the Israeli authorities any relief.

1. *Ismail Kamal Arafat*—He is thirty-two years old and has suffered from a broken spine since he was twelve. He is incapable of movement except with the help of others.

2. *Nafez Suleiman Halan El-Maq'ad*—He has lost his arm and is paralyzed from the waist down. In addition, he is very weak from an undiagnosed illness. Because of his condition he has asked for a "voluntary expulsion" to Jordan, an offer he refused once in the past.

3. *Muhammad Suleiman Katmash*—Suffers from general paralysis, and is now

hospitalized in Ramallah prison.

4. *Muhammad Badai Jabrin*—Suffers from a grave heart illness. However, he is not hospitalized and is kept in the Nablus jail.

5. *Ali Nafa Abdu*—He is sixty-one years old and his condition is described in a medical report as follows: "Signs of early arteriosclerosis, chronic pyelitis and neurovegetative disturbances which reflect frequent attacks of cardiac extrasysteliose and shocking sensations." Apart from this severe heart condition, he suffers from diabetes and high blood pressure. His condition is deteriorating.

6. *Maryam Shakhshir*—He is serving a life prison term. He suffers from serious lung disease and rheumatism brought on by long confinement under inhuman conditions.

7. *Muhammad Rashid Shahad Mamgad Alkarim*—He is jailed in Ramallah and suffers from cancer.

8. *Yusuf Adilbi*—He has gangrene in his leg. The prison doctor offers only one treatment—amputation—which Mr. Adilbi refuses. Since the illness even in his present condition immobilizes him, we prefer to ask for your help. □

Former Korean CIA Chief Confirms Bribery Operation

By Steve Wattenmaker

Capitol Hill legislators and Carter administration officials have been working overtime to keep the lid on Washington's simmering Korean bribe scandal.

The Justice Department and two congressional committees are conducting separate inquiries into charges that scores of House members accepted cash and other "favors" from South Korean lobbyists.

Despite mounds of damning evidence already uncovered—including a list of ninety members of Congress found in the attaché case of one of Seoul's agents—no indictments have been brought and the committee probes stumble along at a lethargic pace.

"As snails whiz past," *New York Times* columnist William Safire commented acidly June 27, "the sluggish, behindhand investigations into Congressional corruption creep forward."

One significant development was the testimony of Kim Hyung Wook, who headed the Korean Central Intelligence Agency from 1963 to 1969. He was the first witness to be called as the House Subcommittee on International Organizations opened hearings June 22 on the KCIA's role in the scandal.

Kim confirmed that Washington-based Korean businessman Tongsun Park ran the bribery operation for the Park Chung Hee regime in Seoul. "When I was Director of the K.C.I.A.," Kim told *New York Times* reporter Richard Halloran, "he was my agent. I controlled Park at that time."

Kim's statement contradicts repeated assertions by the South Korean government that Tongsun Park was not working for the KCIA. It is also a confirmation that U.S. legislators took cash from an unregistered foreign agent, a critical point in proving that they acted illegally.

Kim Hyung Wook also testified that the KCIA provided Tongsun Park with \$3 million in 1967 to finance his fashionable George Town Club in Washington. The aim was to gain access to and cultivate U.S. officials.

This particular aspect of the bribery scheme proved well worth the KCIA investment. The lavish parties Park hosted at his club established him as a leading figure of Washington society.

Among the ranking members of Congress and other high government officials who belonged to or attended social affairs at the George Town Club were current House Speaker Thomas O'Neill, Gerald

Ford, Carter cabinet official Joseph Califano, and five present or former members of the Supreme Court.

The former KCIA chief, who came to the United States after breaking with Park Chung Hee in the early 1970s, also identified other influential Koreans who took their instructions from the KCIA.

- Hancho Kim, a Washington businessman and trustee of American University, took over the bribery operation from Tongsun Park in 1976. Early that year, Hancho Kim received \$600,000 in cash from Seoul to be used for "lobbying expenses," Kim said.

- Bo Hi Pak, top lieutenant for evangelist Sun Myung Moon, ran a separate pro-Seoul propaganda operation that had an "intimate relationship" with the KCIA.

- Sue Park Thomson, secretary to former House Speaker Carl Albert, and Jhoon Rhee, a business associate of columnist Jack Anderson, were named by Kim Hyung Wook as lesser KCIA agents.

- Han Byung Ki, until recently the Korean deputy ambassador to the United Nations, was responsible for a wide-ranging campaign to terrorize and attempt to silence opponents of the Seoul regime living in the United States.

During his testimony before the committee, Kim also revealed that Japanese police were aware of plans to kidnap exiled South Korean dissident Kim Dae Jung but did nothing to prevent it. Kim was abducted from Tokyo in 1973 and returned to Seoul where he was jailed.

This particular revelation has created an uproar in Japan, capturing front-page headlines and sparking demands that Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda launch a full-scale inquiry. Opposition parties have called for Kim Dae Jung's immediate release and the halting of all foreign economic aid to South Korea.

Also probing the congressional influence-buying scheme is the House Ethics Committee, which has yet to hold hearings. In fact, Safire commented in his June 27 column, without public outcry committee chairman John Flynt "would slip the committee into suspended animation."

In one notable action, the Ethics Committee submitted a "confidential" questionnaire to all members of Congress asking what contributions they had received from foreign governments. However, Safire reported, the committee authorized the questionnaire only after the special counsel they hired threatened to quit, exposing

the committee's footdragging.

Ultimately, the original idea of forcing House members to swear to the truthfulness of the statements made on their questionnaires was dropped, and the \$25 floor over which gifts had to be declared was raised to \$100. According to Safire, this was done to accommodate two members of the Ethics Committee who would otherwise have been embarrassed.

The Carter administration is doing its part to cover up the scandal by keeping a tight rein on the Justice Department investigation of possible criminal charges stemming from the bribery operation.

In a report in the June 19 *New York Times*, Richard Halloran revealed that the Justice Department has had specific information on Korean bribery of American Congressmen since 1975, without managing to produce even a single indictment.

The information turned over to the Justice Department was based on electronic surveillance of the presidential mansion in South Korea, carried out in 1975 by U.S. intelligence agencies.

In addition to transcripts of conversations that took place in Park Chung Hee's presidential residence, Attorney General Griffin Bell has also had cooperation from two of the most important figures in the bribery operation: former KCIA director Kim Hyung Wook and the KCIA's former No. 2 agent in Washington, Kim Sang Kuen, who defected to the United States last December.

Despite the wealth of evidence already accumulated, sources close to the investigation have repeatedly warned that few, if any, indictments of present or former members of Congress will ever come out of the Justice Department probe.

According to a report in the June 7 *New York Times*, Justice Department investigators are examining whether Nixon administration officials knew of the illegal Korean bribery operation as early as 1970, but covered up the information or even assisted Seoul in its efforts.

Justice Department and congressional investigators will have to tread softly if they continue to hunt in this direction for evidence of a cover-up. Prosecuting Nixon administration officials would not only open old Watergate wounds that Carter is trying to bind. It might also lead those indicted to tell what they know about congressional crimes.

That, as Attorney General Griffin Bell and Jimmy Carter both know, could blow the lid off the scandal. □

The Specter of Youth Unemployment

By Jon Britton

A specter has appeared in the advanced capitalist countries—youth unemployment. It haunts rulers and ruled alike.

Not that there is anything new in youths being unemployed. On the contrary, young persons have long been disproportionately represented on the jobless rolls.

In recent years, however, the number of youths unable to find jobs has risen dramatically, adding to the chronic instability of capitalist governments, especially in Western Europe.

In Italy, two-thirds of the unemployed last year were looking for their first job. At last count roughly 40 percent of the unemployed in the twenty-four richest countries where "free enterprise" prevails were under twenty-five years of age.

As the June 11-17 British *Economist* in an article entitled "Young on the dole" put it, school-leavers are "beginning to find the transition from school to work nearly as difficult as the camel's passage through the needle's eye."

This article, despite its cynical ruling-class viewpoint, contains useful facts and figures on the scourge of youth unemployment in the twenty-four countries making up the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which includes all the imperialist powers.

It points out, for example, that "as the recession drags into slow and hesitant recovery, high and long unemployment is decreasingly being described as 'cyclical' and increasingly as 'structural'—the key adjective in statesmen's statements, worldwide, this year. . . .

"What many of the world's leaders who worry about structural unemployment mean by it," the article continues, ". . . is simply unemployment which, for one reason or another, just won't go away."

The structural, or long-term, character of today's unemployment is clearly shown by the fact that average unemployment for the OECD countries *increased* in the last year, during a period of economic upturn. It is now running between 5 and 6 percent, according to official figures.

These figures understate the job shortage. In the first place, many immigrant workers, especially in Europe, have been forced to go back home. In West Germany, for instance, the number of such workers declined from 2.5 million in 1973 to 1.9 million by June of last year.

In addition, many workers, including teen-agers, have dropped out of the labor market because of the dismal job situation

and in some cases because of legislation raising the age limit for compulsory schooling. "In most countries, the teenage participation rate has been falling throughout the 1970s," the *Economist* states.

Finally, the unemployment indices are calculated differently in different countries. According to Leonard Silk, writing in the May 12 *New York Times*, "Prof. Sar Levitan of George Washington University, who has just returned from a study trip to Europe during which he worked with German economic technicians, says the German unemployment rate of 4.8 percent is equivalent to a United States unemployment rate of 7.2 or 7.3 percent."

In addition to the clear rise in structural unemployment, another disturbing feature is emerging, according to the *Economist*:

The most critical change in developed countries' labour markets has been their new duality: the divide between the job "haves," who have gained, over time, greater security; and the "have nots," who therefore bear an increasing share of unemployment. School leavers, naturally, start in the second category, and tend to be the least secure of those in the first.

This growing trend has been referred to in the United States as "two-tier" unemployment. While there have always been those who are permanently out of work, the bottom "tier," consisting overwhelmingly of youth, members of oppressed nationalities, and women, rapidly expanded during the 1974-75 depression and has been little affected by the subsequent upturn. After two years of "recovery," teenage unemployment in the United States in May remained at an official 17.9 percent (compared to 20.4 percent in April 1975) and for Black teen-agers at an astronomical 38.7 percent (down only slightly from 40.2 percent in April 1975).

The growth of a permanently unemployed "pariah class" is indeed a long-term trend in capitalism. It was noted by Marx in the nineteenth century:

The greater the social wealth . . . the greater is the industrial reserve army [of unemployed] . . . the greater is the mass of a consolidated surplus-population . . . the greater is official pauperism. *This is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation.*¹

The trend was disguised for many years because of the long post-World War II

expansion and the growth of government employment during the same period. But the boom ended in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Since then we have seen the deepest slump since the Great Depression of the 1930s, followed by a weak upturn; the new phenomenon of "slumpflation"; and large-scale layoffs of government workers and cutbacks of social services.

The underlying trend has once more broken through. The following words of Trotsky, written in 1939, apply with greater force today:

The present army of unemployed can no longer be regarded as a "reserve army," because its basic mass can no longer have any hope of returning to employment; on the contrary, it is bound to be swelled by a constant flow of additional unemployed. Disintegrating capitalism has brought up a whole generation of young people who have never had a job and have no hope of getting one. . . . A social régime ravaged by such a plague is sick unto death. The proper diagnosis of this malady was made [by Marx] nearly four score of years ago, when the disease itself was a mere germ.²

The capitalists and their highly paid propagandists refuse to acknowledge this sickness and instead try to pin the blame for unemployment on the victims themselves.

The *Economist* is typical in this regard. "People grow faster than jobs," is a major theme in its article. The work force has been expanding so fast, the argument goes, that the capitalist economies cannot reasonably be expected to provide jobs for everyone. Among the factors cited are the following:

Workers have been migrating to the cities from rural areas.

The working-age population, following a rise in postwar birth rates, is rapidly increasing in some countries, especially Spain, West Germany, the United States, and Canada.

Many more women are seeking jobs, "even after marriage and with children," the *Economist* laments.

But even the *Economist* was outdone by the head of President Carter's Council of Economic Advisors, Charles L. Schultze. According to the May 24 *Christian Science Monitor*, Schultze cited as one of the factors "bearing on persistently high teenage unemployment" a "change in work attitudes among many young people, tending to make them less willing to stay with a job."

1. As quoted by Trotsky in *Marxism in Our Time*, (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), p. 20.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

Whatever their "theories" on the causes of unemployment, the most farseeing capitalists and their spokesmen are becoming increasingly concerned with its social and political consequences. The *Economist* puts it this way:

Young men unemployed today seem very likely criminals and political bomb-throwers tomorrow. Crime rates are highest for people in their late teens and early twenties, and highest of all for those most unemployed minorities among the young (blacks, immigrants). Most governments have short, uncomfortable memories of the student ructions of the late 1960s and fear that the recruiting-sergeants of extremism and revolution cannot be far away from the jobless young.

Note the crude amalgamation of crime and revolution. The "crime" the rulers fear the most, of course, is a full-scale youth revolt.

This was made clear by Silk in the May 12 *New York Times*:

Communism looms as a real threat or—to many young people, workers and intellectuals—as a promising alternative to what they regard as decadent capitalism. Joblessness heightens dissatisfaction with the existing system.

This assessment seems to be confirmed by the number of young people joining the Italian Communist Party. An article by F. de Vito in the Rome weekly *L'Espresso* last February revealed that in a sample of 6,000 new members the proportion of recruits under twenty-five was about 38 percent, as against the CP's national average of 15 percent.

The alternative of "Communism" is made all the more attractive by the fact that unemployment is virtually absent in the East European countries. The problem there, in many cases, is a chronic labor shortage.

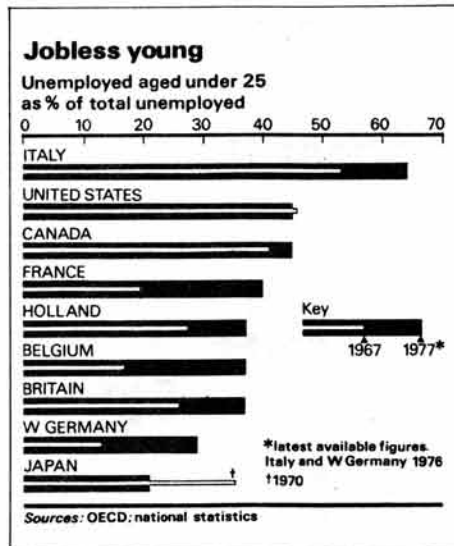
Silk fails to point out, however, that the growing popularity of "Communism" among West European youth goes along with a rejection of bureaucratic rule in Eastern Europe. This is one of the key pressures giving rise to the phenomenon of Euro-Communism.

In the United States, too, unemployment, especially among Black youth, is creating the conditions for future explosions. Herbert Hill, national labor director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, warned June 28:

The condition of black people is again declining and for many in poverty areas it's already more desperate than it was during the most serious riots of the 1960's. As in the past, social and economic forces will generate ghetto rebellions that may require us to regard the civil disorders of the 1960's as mere prelude.

Under the heading "Action plans," the *Economist* discusses some of the policies governments of the OECD countries have adopted for dealing with youth unemployment.

The question of education seems to present knotty problems:



Economist

The young may be pricing themselves out, by reluctance to accept low-paid jobs, particularly if they have high educational qualifications. A recent study showed that nearly half of Italy's out-of-work young had a high school or university degree. Almost universally, the expansion of higher education has produced a contradiction: degrees are required for more jobs, but are also less certain to ensure employment.

Parliaments in several European countries have either passed or are discussing legislation lengthening the period of compulsory education. This alleviates youth unemployment only temporarily. The *Economist's* assessment of the measure: "Expensive; not repeatable."

The *Economist* seems to favor a more "practical" approach:

... a recent report from the OECD shows that extra periods of general (rather than vocational) education—even to degree level—may provide young people with nothing more than increased expectations which will not be met. . . .

School-leavers with occupational skills still have little difficulty (except, noticeably, in the United States) finding work. But school systems in which prestige is tied to academic courses suited to university entrance exams (eg, Britain) tend to churn out school and college leavers without marketable skills. In other countries (France, Sweden) entry to vocational courses was limited and to others unlimited; thus general courses expanded fastest. Now, however, there has been an almost universal swing towards vocational courses.

It's safe to say that there will soon be a glut of youth with "vocational training" in Western Europe as there is today in the United States.

Other approaches mentioned by the *Economist* include: subsidies to employers who retain or hire young workers; quota systems, requiring that a fixed proportion of employees be below a certain age; special efforts to fill existing youth vacancies through information, guidance, placement activities, or payment of moving allowances; early retirement of older

workers; "encouraging" immigrant workers to return home, subsidies to employers for on-the-job training; remedial programs of various kinds, including some aimed at "improving attitudes, behaviour, and performance"; and job creation by government.

Such programs may help a few individuals, often at the expense of others. But none—except the creation of jobs through government public works programs—deal with the basic problem. Viewed socially, unemployment is not caused by too much, too little, or the wrong kind of education, or by "poor attitudes, behaviour and performance," or even by excessive production.

Instead it is owing to the workings of the profit system itself. This is becoming more and more obvious as increasing numbers of educated youths, whether vocationally or college-trained, find it impossible to land jobs.

Government job-creating programs, which could make a significant dent in youth unemployment, have remained on the token level.

For example, on May 13 President Carter signed bills for public works programs that will supposedly create a million jobs through 1978, 200,000 of them for youth. When measured against a total unemployment of nearly seven million, however, the programs fall woefully short of the need.

The real answer to youth unemployment—and these demands are being raised by class-conscious workers throughout the capitalist world—is the combination of massive government-financed programs for construction of the low-cost housing, mass transit, hospitals, and schools that are so desperately needed, and a shorter workweek to spread the available work among all those seeking jobs.

But winning these demands will require a fight that is not to the liking of the reformist bureaucrats, whether Euro-Communist or Social Democratic or out-and-out procapitalist. A new leadership will be required that understands and will act on these words of the *Communist Manifesto*:

"... the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society."³ □

3. *The Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), p. 26.

The 'Tindemans Government II'

By François Massion

GENT—After nearly two months of negotiations, a new government has been formed in Belgium, with Premier Léo Tindemans remaining at its head.

The "Tindemans Government II," as they call it, replaces the Tindemans Government I, which was swept out of office by a wave of strikes in February and March. [See *Intercontinental Press*, March 21, 1977, p. 292.]

These strikes were called jointly by the FGTB [Fédération Générale des Travailleurs de Belgique—Belgian General Confederation of Workers], which has ties to the PSB-BSP [Parti Socialiste Belge—Belgische Socialistische Partij—Belgian Socialist Party], and the CSC [Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens—Confederation of Christian Trade Unions], which has ties to the bourgeois PSC-CVP [Parti Social Chrétien-Christelijke Volkspartij—Social Christian Party].

In theory, these strikes were directed solely against the "Egmont plan," a sharp attack on the living standards of working people. However, despite the efforts of the union leaderships, the movement soon escaped their control and brought down the reactionary Tindemans government.

So Belgian citizens went to the polls on April 17. Ironically, despite widespread dissatisfaction among working people, these elections did not significantly alter the situation. The PSC and CVP increased their vote at the expense of the other bourgeois parties, while the PSB-BSP made some slight gains at the expense of the Communist Party, which went from 3.2 percent of the vote to 2.7 percent. At the same time, the PSB-BSP chipped away at the base of support of the Rassemblement Wallon [RW—Party of Walloon Unity], a bourgeois nationalist party that had been included in the first Tindemans government.

The elections were followed by lengthy negotiations, which finally culminated in a coalition government between the main workers party, the PSB, and several bourgeois parties. These include the FDF [Front Démocratique des Francophones—French-speaking Democratic Front], based in Brussels; the VU [Volksunie—People's Unity], a Flemish nationalist party; and the main bourgeois party, the PSC-CVP. The vote of confidence in the new government was passed by more than eighty percent of the parliamentary deputies on June 9.

Today in Belgium there are two major



TINDEMANS: No. 2 finds it a tough job to escape the influence of No. 1.

issues on which the political parties and trade unions must take a stand.

The first issue concerns economic and social policy. It can easily be seen that the government's program is geared to the needs of the bosses, not those of the workers movement. Nothing will be done to lower the massive unemployment, which affects nearly 10 percent of the active population. The trade unions' demand for shortening the workweek has been made conditional upon business "productivity" and has been relegated to oblivion. Attacks on unemployment compensation and health insurance are in the works. The CVP chairman, Wilfried Martens, has stated that "the new economic policy does not constitute a break with the policy carried out over the last few years."

The government's economic policy is aimed at an "equitable sharing of sacrifice." The main provisions of the "Egmont plan" that aroused the anger of the workers are being maintained. The right to free abortion on demand is still denied. There were so few positive points to be

noted in the government statement that the two trade-union leaderships have already been compelled to point out its "inadequacies."

The second issue concerns what the Belgian press calls "the language question." What is actually involved is the national question in Belgium. Although there is sentiment within the two main nationalities in Belgium in favor of a federal state, the government statement maintains the essential powers of the unitary state. Furthermore, for Brussels and its surrounding area, where Flemish speakers constitute an oppressed minority, the privileges given to French speakers have been extended to new Flemish communities outside Brussels, which were protected until now.

The new "intercommunity pact" touched off a crisis inside the Volksunie, the Flemish nationalist party in the government. One of its deputies resigned, and its Brussels federation rejected the agreement signed by the VU chairman concerning "intercommunity pacification."

Clearly, the second Tindemans government is not going to meet the demands of the workers and their allies any more than the first Tindemans government did. The only difference—an important one—is that now the new government has the backing of the PSB, the only mass workers party in Belgium.

A large number of workers voted for the PSB because they thought this party would fight for them. They were encouraged in this illusion by the PSB's election campaign "against the CVP regime." Today the PSB is sitting down with those it denounced only yesterday. It has given its support to a governmental program from which the main working-class and popular demands are excluded.

There is a great danger at present of the workers movement becoming more closely integrated into the capitalist state. The PSB is managing the affairs of the state together with the PSC-CVP, the FDF, and the VU.

The two main Belgian trade unions, whose total membership numbers more than 2 million, are now tied to the government through the PSB, which controls the FGTB, and the PSC-CVP, which has a privileged relationship with the CSC. The government's objective of establishing a better system of collaboration seeks to anesthetize the workers movement, to prevent it from fighting back against attacks by the bosses. For example, the front page of the June 9 issue of the *Peuple*, the PSB's newspaper, carries an appeal to the unions' "sense of responsibility," and pleads for support to the government and its "progressive program."

The Communist Party is in a bad position to offer a real alternative to the policy of the government. During the election campaign, the CP explicitly stated

that it was not opposed in principle to a coalition government, in which the PSB would be held hostage by the PSC-CVP. All that mattered was the program. However, experience has shown that every coalition between workers parties and bourgeois parties inevitably works to the benefit of the employers. In his speech to parliament, Louis Van Geyt, chairman of the Belgian CP and one of its two deputies, called on the workers to "put pressure on their elected officials." As for the CP's other deputy, Marcel Levaux, he called on all the "progressive forces" to unite—including those in the PSC-CVP.

Today some people still hold the illusion that the second Tindemans government will "not be as bad" as the first Tindemans government. The SP workers frequently believe that their "minister comrades" will prevent reactionary measures from being enacted.

However, these illusions have no basis in fact. No sooner was the new Tindemans government formed than it made a series of decisions that are indistinguishable from those of the first Tindemans government. For example, on June 11, the SP foreign affairs minister, Leburton, received Zaïrian President Mobutu Sese Seko, who had come to thank his imperialist masters for saving him, with all "due" honors.

Within a short time the illusions will be shattered, and social tensions will be more visible and sharper than ever. The allies of the working class are going to have to fight.

Among them are women, who have to struggle for their rights, the Flemish- and German-speaking nationalities oppressed by the capitalist unitary state, the students and youth. The workers will have to fight to defend their standard of living and their jobs. The two trade-union organizations already feel obliged to take their distance from the governmental agreement.

The divisions within the PSB and FGFB will quickly broaden between those who advocate support to the class-collaborationist government, and those who want to fight for the interests of the workers and the oppressed. A left wing will emerge within the PSB that might be able to take a permanent form. But divisions will also open up between the PSB and the FGFB, which must after all defend the workers' interests to a minimal extent.

Tensions will also increase between the CSC and the PSC-CVP of Tindemans. The CSC is tied to the PSC-CVP through the MOC [Mouvement Ouvrier Chrétien—Christian Workers Movement]. The MOC unites all the Christian workers organizations into a federation under the thumb of the PSC-CVP.

A tendency to break with the party of Tindemans is becoming increasingly apparent in the ranks of the CSC and MOC. Cracks are already beginning to appear. Last week the Parti Ouvrier Chrétien [Christian Workers Party], whose members

split from the PSC in 1976, was founded in Liège, where it is based. It has declared its program to be that of the MOC.

The Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs-Revolutionaire Arbeiders Liga [LRT-RAI—Revolutionary Workers

League], Belgian section of the Fourth International, supports such initiatives, and calls on all the CSC workers to break their union's ties with the PSC-CVP, and to build their own independent workers party. □

Three Healyites Attack SWP Member

By Roger Rudenstein

[The following article appeared in the July 8 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

NEW YORK—On June 23 three members of the Workers League assaulted Terie Balias, organizer of the Bronx branch of the Socialist Workers Party, as she was selling the *Militant* near city hall here.

Ten days earlier Workers League National Secretary David North had accosted SWP leaders George Novack and Evelyn Reed near the Chelsea branch of the New York SWP.

The Workers League is a small group made up of followers of the British sectarian Gerry Healy. For the past two years Healy has waged a slander campaign against veteran SWP leaders Joseph Hansen and George Novack, alleging that they are "accomplices" of the Kremlin's secret police, the GPU.

These gutter charges mark the latest and most serious stage in the degeneration of Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (formerly Socialist Labour League) since its flight from the Trotskyist movement in 1963.

Healy's monstrous frame-up has been publicly condemned by virtually every leader of every political current claiming adherence to Trotskyism. What has been Healy's response to this growing isolation?

First, to escalate his lies.

But an even more ominous response was indicated in the May 28, 1977, issue of Healy's newspaper *News Line*. The article, full of more slanders against Hansen and Novack, predicted "provocations against our [Healy's] movement all over the world." This article was reprinted in the May 31, 1977, issue of the Workers League's *Bulletin*.

The recent incidents here in New York indicate that the Workers League is determined to pin the blame on its victims in advance, and then claim that its predicted "provocations" have in fact come about.

Balias, for example, was selling *Militants* on her lunch hour when she was accosted by three men. They screamed at her to answer their questions about the GPU's supposed infiltration of the SWP.

When Balias refused to respond to this inquisition, the three men started shoving her, alternating each shove with another question. Then they pushed her into a park bench. She fell and bruised both legs.

A young woman sitting on the bench couldn't believe her eyes.

"Why are you shoving this woman?" she asked.

"Because they won't answer us," replied one Workers Leaguer.

The young woman called a park cop and the attackers fled.

In the June 13 incident, George Novack was walking down a street near the SWP Chelsea branch headquarters accompanied by Evelyn Reed, Marxist anthropologist, feminist, and SWP member. They were accosted by David North, national secretary of the Workers League. North refused to let Novack pass until he "confessed" that he was a GPU accomplice.

Luckily, several SWP members happened to be passing by. Through patient efforts they were able to divert North, who appeared to be berserk, screaming at the top of his lungs. But before North could be coaxed away, he stepped on Reed's feet and lunged at Novack.

In recent weeks similar incidents have occurred outside the Chelsea SWP headquarters. Workers League members have rammed literature at people arriving for meetings, shouting directly into their ears.

Workers League posters were also pasted up on the doors and windows of the Brooklyn SWP headquarters, taking a substantial effort to be scraped off.

The aim of this escalating pattern of harassment and assault is clearly to provoke a sensationalistic incident to spice up their slander campaign.

SWP mayoral candidate Catarino Garza has demanded that the Workers League "curb the perpetrators and state that such assaults will not occur again. While the Workers League has the right to express its political views, it does not have the right to physically attack and harass SWP members.

"I call upon all organizations and individuals who oppose the use of violence in the movement to join with me in protesting the violation of this important principle by the Workers League." □

Widespread Use of Torture Exposed in India

By Sharad Jhaveri

JAMNAGAR—Torture is not a new phenomenon in India. But the avalanche of reports now appearing in the Indian press show that brutal treatment of political prisoners has assumed new dimensions.

Before India's independence, torture included routine police brutalities such as beating with lathis [steel-tipped canes], solitary confinement, and the "water treatment" (being submerged in a barrel full of water or urine).

After independence in 1947, the nature and extent of torture depended on the class of the victim and the danger he or she was felt to represent to the system. In general, poor suspects and detainees are subjected to the worst forms of physical torture. For example, the armed peasant revolts in the Telengana region were ruthlessly crushed with the most brutal torture methods.

The torturers and jailers in Indian prisons are as a rule from the upper castes. Almost the entire constabulary, as well as the subordinate police officers, belong to the upper castes, and therefore to the upper and middle strata of the peasantry with varying land holdings. Their interests are different from those of the exploited prisoners. In predominantly agrarian states like Punjab, Haryana, Andhra Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh, which abound in reports of police brutalities, this factor in police behavior is significant.

The decade from 1967 to 1977 marked a turning point in the treatment of political prisoners in India. This was the period in which the Naxalite movement emerged.¹ During the subsequent repression against the Naxalites, the use of torture as an instrument of state policy began. It was perfected during Indira Gandhi's state of emergency, which lasted from June 1975 to March 1977.

Torture starts in the police lock-up during investigation and interrogation. According to one estimate, nearly 80 percent of the detainees during the state of emergency were subjected to such experiences.

The outright killing of prisoners has also increased in the last ten years. The Organization for Protection of Democratic Rights (OPDR) in Andhra Pradesh recently submitted a report to Acting President B.D. Jatti. It contained a list of 135 cases in which alleged Naxalites were shot or

tortured to death in Andhra Pradesh from 1969 to 1976.

In the 135 cases listed, a total of 143 men, women, and children were murdered in cold blood and then described in police reports and newspaper accounts as having been "killed in encounters with the police." According to the OPDR, the list is far from complete.

A nine-member Civil Rights Committee was set up in April by Jaya Prakash Narayan to investigate the cases of those "killed in encounters with the police" in Andhra Pradesh during the state of emergency. The committee was headed by V.M. Tarkunde, who was an associate of the late M.N. Roy, a founder of the Communist Party of India. It concluded that these "encounters" never took place and that the killings were nothing less than murder by the police.

The committee's interim report estimated that at least seventy-seven persons had been killed in "encounters" during the emergency in Andhra Pradesh alone. "There is widespread apprehension," it said, "that the 'encounters' are staged, that in fact the citizens have been liquidated in cold blood by the police to terrorise potential dissenters in the state."

The situation in Andhra Pradesh was not unique. Consider, for example, the case of Rajan in Kerala during the rule of Chief Minister Achutha Menon, a leader of the Communist Party of India (CPI). Rajan, a brilliant student at the Regional Engineering College in Calicut, was arrested by the police on March 1, 1976, and murdered in cold blood. After many contradictory statements, the Kerala government has now admitted that he was killed.

It is not known how many were arrested in West Bengal during the emergency. But if overcrowding and the demands of prison authorities for extra accommodations are any indication, the number of detainees must have been staggering.

The Sharma Sarkar Commission, which investigated the unrest at the Howrah District Jail on May 3, 1975, reported that conditions in West Bengal jails were extremely bad. "The mismanagement, if not corruption, in connection with the supply of food, sleeping place, bathing water and other details of everyday life create explosive conditions," it said.

The All-Bengal Women's Association recently submitted a memorandum to Home Minister Charan Singh bringing to his attention the horrible conditions in the female wards of the West Bengal jails. "No report on Jails in West Bengal can be

complete," it said, "without taking into its scope the peculiar form of atrocities, mental and physical, to which women prisoners, political and non-political, are subjected."

According to a study undertaken by the National Institute of Social Defence during 1974 and 1975, there were 119 jails with a total capacity for about 2 lakh² prisoners. But at that time they housed a total of more than 2.2 lakh prisoners. About 1.3 lakh of the inmates were awaiting trial.

An editorial in the May 24 *Economic Times* concluded that the most primitive conditions prevail in Indian prisons and that the corrupt and brutal character of the system is obvious.

To be sure, one reason these reports are being given such wide publicity at this time is to show how repressive the former Gandhi regime was. But the publicity may have unintended consequences.

Writing in the influential New Delhi magazine *India Today*, C. Joshi commented in the May 16-31 issue: "It is a measure of our social hypocrisy that from the years 1967 to 1977, the very same elite who are today quoting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights made little or no effort to inquire into and launch a movement against the inhuman tortures perpetrated on young boys and girls who were branded Naxalites. Even Janata Party leaders who are now willing to announce an inquiry commission at the drop of a hat were strangely muted during the period of torture of Naxalite suspects."

The limitations of the new Janata Party regime on the question of political prisoners are evident in its approach toward the release of Naxalite prisoners.

Home Minister Charan Singh told the Lok Sabha (lower house of Parliament) April 5 that there were 645 Naxalites in detention as of March 25, in the states of West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Andhra Pradesh.

On April 6, Singh outlined the regime's attitude to four categories of prisoners. The first, he said, was composed of detainees against whom no case was pending. They would be released.

The second is composed of those against whom charges of violence have been made. The state governments have been asked to expedite investigation in those cases.

The third category includes those awaiting trial. Singh simply promised to speed up the trials.

1. The term Naxalite is generally applied to members or sympathizers of the Maoist Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist).—IP

2. One lakh is equivalent to 100,000 units.—IP

Those in the fourth category—all who have been convicted—must serve their sentences, Singh said.

According to the latest official report, published in the May 25 *Indian Express*, 550 Naxalites held under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) in West Bengal have so far been released unconditionally. The releases were being carried out in stages, as the process of scrutiny of cases of detention was still in progress.

According to the same official source, there are still about 400 "extremists" in West Bengal jails. In addition, a number of Naxalite leaders have refused to sign statements abjuring "subversive" activities as a condition for their release. They included Kanu Sanyal, Jangal Santhal, Ashim Chatterjee, Sadhan Sarkar, and others, all of whom are among the forty-four Naxalites facing trial before the Fifth Special Tribunal at Alipore.

It is clear that the Janata Party is backtracking on its election pledge to

release all Naxalites. The April 16 issue of the *Bombay Economic and Political Weekly* said that the number of Naxalite detainees throughout the country has been reduced to 645 through a "trick of definition." It also pointed out that "similarly, detenus [detainees] can be turned into undertrials by the institution of cases against them; and undertrials can be made into convicts with the help of 'confessions' extorted through police torture and a pliant judiciary. If none of these devices suffice, then as the Andhra police has shown, the Naxalites can be just 'killed in encounters.'"

While the Defence of India Rules have been revoked, the Janata Party regime is hesitating on the question of repealing MISA. So far, it has promised only to review it. Almost all smugglers have been released from prison, but not the Naxalites. The Baroda Dynamite Case, involving George Fernandes, a minister in Morarji Desai's present cabinet, was with-

drawn, but not the cases pending against the Naxalites.

Despite the massive exposures of police brutality and the heightened political awareness among the population since the downfall of the Gandhi regime, the main working class parties have failed to take up the issue of torture and the release of political prisoners and start building a mass movement around it.

The pro-Moscow CPI's criticism is muted, since it was an accomplice of the Gandhi regime under the state of emergency. The other main Stalinist party, the Communist Party of India (Marxist), has said little because of its desire to maintain political links with the Janata Party.

Here and there, some groups, like the Legal Aid Committees or the People's Union for Civil Liberties, are doing defence work. But only an independent mass movement can win the release of the political prisoners in India's jails. □

2,500 March in London

International Actions Voice Solidarity With Soweto Protests



G.M. Cookson/Socialist Challenge
South African student leader Barney Mokgatle speaking at London rally June 18.

About 2,500 persons marched through London June 18 in solidarity with the Black freedom struggle in South Africa and in commemoration of the first anniversary of the initial mass Black protests in Soweto June 16, 1976.

The demonstration was called in response to an appeal issued by exiled leaders of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), which organized many of the protests in South Africa. It was endorsed by a wide range of organizations, including the National Union of Students (NUS) and the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The protest was marred, however, by a decision of a majority of members of the NUS Executive, under the influence of the Communist Party of Great Britain, to bar Tsietsi Mashinini, the first president of the SSRC, from speaking at the "official" rally. Mashinini had earlier been invited to speak.

In response to this sectarian move, an alternative platform was organized at the end of the march. The featured speaker was Barney Mokgatle, a former secretary of the SSRC, who flew to London from Africa to deliver greetings from Mashinini and other Soweto student leaders. A big majority of the participants in the march gathered around the alternative platform, instead of the "official" one, which had no speakers who had been involved in the Soweto struggle.

In the United States, hundreds of persons participated in demonstrations or commemorative meetings in several cities across the country.

In New York City, a news conference was organized June 16 by the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa. Speakers included Tony Austin, national coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and Elizabeth Sibeko, a leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa). The next day 150 persons attended a memorial rally, and on June 18 about 250 persons joined a picket line outside the South African Airways offices.

On June 18, 150 demonstrators marched through Philadelphia chanting, "Remember the students of Soweto, end apartheid now!" Teach-ins or protests were also held in San Diego, Oakland, New Orleans, and Newark.

About 100 persons demonstrated in Melbourne, Australia June 16. Speakers at a rally in City Square included Ruth Egg of the No Ties With Apartheid Campaign, Simbarashe Mumbengegwe, a Zimbabwean student living in Australia, and Roger Wilson from the Seamen's Union. Another fifty persons marched in Sydney, where six demonstrators were arrested by police during an occupation of the South African Tourist Corporation office. □

The Coming Elections in Sri Lanka

By Ernest Harsch

After seven years in power, Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) is facing a stiff campaign to retain control of Parliament in the general elections slated for July 21.

The hopes that swept Bandaranaike's United Front coalition into office by a landslide vote in 1970 have since turned into massive disenchantment. Seven years of demagogic promises to create more jobs and to build a "socialist democracy" in Sri Lanka have not eased the economic problems of the country's thirteen million inhabitants.

In fact, unemployment today is higher than it was in 1970, standing at more than 1.5 million persons, or between 15 and 20 percent of the work force. The cost of living is high and there are frequent scarcities of some basic food items.

Bandaranaike's repressive policies have also fueled opposition to the regime. For nearly six years she ruled under a state of emergency that gave her special powers to act against dissidents. In March 1971, when the state of emergency was first declared, the regime began a massive crackdown on the radical youth movement, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front). The repression prompted the JVP to attempt an uprising in April of that year, which was crushed only after thousands of youths were killed and about 18,000 arrested.

Not everyone has fared badly under Bandaranaike's rule, however. *Far Eastern Economic Review* correspondent Mervyn de Silva commented in the May 20 issue of the Hong Kong business weekly, "Fifteen years after the imposition of a total ban on the import of private cars and after seven years of Mrs. Bandaranaike's United Front 'socialism,' there are more air-conditioned Mercedes Benz, Ford Capris and Toyotas lined up at golf courses and five-star hotels than under the earlier 'capitalist' UNP [United National Party] rule, which the socialists had denounced for wasting foreign exchange."

Among the SLFP's main backers, de Silva reported, was "a burgeoning rural-based business community spawned by protectionism and import-substitution and baptised by State capitalism." De Silva noted that this class is becoming "a hate symbol, particularly for an educated youth exasperated by exhortations of austerity. . . ."

Signs of discontent have been mounting

for more than half a year. In November 1976, the island was swept by a series of strikes and student demonstrations, protesting against the police killing of a student and calling for an end to the state of emergency. In December and January a wave of massive strikes, involving nearly 250,000 workers at its peak, paralyzed the railway system and seriously disrupted other sectors of the economy.

In late May and early June, while the election campaigns were already under way, the railways were paralyzed by another strike. In addition, plantation workers and central bank employees walked off their jobs and oil workers carried out a go-slow action.

An added difficulty faced by Bandaranaike's SLFP in trying to win the elections is the loss of its left cover. In the 1970 elections the capitalist SLFP was allied in a United Front coalition with the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP—Ceylon Equal Society Party) and the pro-Moscow Communist Party. The LSSP leaders were dropped from Bandaranaike's cabinet in September 1975 and the CP withdrew from the government last February. Both parties are now campaigning against the SLFP.

Since its inception, the SLFP has been unable to win an election on its own, without either an electoral bloc with leftist parties or at least a no-contest arrangement with them.

Bandaranaike has also been set back by defections within her own ranks. A number of SLFP members of Parliament, including Industries Minister T.B. Subasinghe, split off from the SLFP earlier this year to form a new bourgeois party, called the People's Democratic Party.

In an attempt to drum up more electoral support, Bandaranaike has made extravagant pledges to attain full employment, carry through extensive land reforms, and enact other economic measures that had been promised repeatedly in the past.

To provide a temporary atmosphere of economic improvement just before the elections, she has increased pay scales, provided more jobs in the public sector, and sought to flood the country with commodities, especially textiles and food. In early June, the cabinet endorsed a pledge to provide a minimum of twenty-one days of work each month to the 800,000 workers on the state-owned tea plantations.

Bandaranaike has coupled these inducements with a campaign of intimidation. On May 25 the police began an island-wide security effort code-named "Operation Elections 1977." One of the departments involved in this operation is the Intelligence Services Division, which keeps close surveillance on "political troublemakers" and "subversive elements."

Four youths were arrested June 12 on charges of having in their possession literature deemed to be of "a subversive nature." According to a report in the June 13 *Ceylon Daily News*, "The literature included manuscripts concerning the abortive 1971 insurrection, the release of 'insurgents,' the recent statement to the press by the Secretary to the Justice Ministry, Mr. Nihal Jayawickrama, that there are no political prisoners in Sri Lanka, the political situation in Sri Lanka and Asia and a draft leaflet to summon young women to a meeting to be held shortly."

The *News* continued, "The arrest is the result of a massive round-the-clock week-end operation launched by the police aimed at flushing out subversive elements from Colombo. . . . The operation to keep the City safe will continue for some time after the general election."

The police announced that this repressive operation would also include the enforcement of a section of the Penal Code that outlaws "attempts to exercise feelings of disaffection towards the Government of Sri Lanka or attempts to exercise hostility or contempt towards the administration of justice or attempts to raise discontent or disaffection amongst the subjects in promoting ill-will or hostility towards different classes, religions or races. . . ."

Accordingly, the June 8 *News* reported, "A crack team of police stenographers have fanned out throughout the country to take down verbatim speeches at every political meeting. . . ." Transcripts of the speeches are sent to the attorney-general for scrutiny. A candidate found guilty of transgressing this law can be jailed for up to two years.

The Jayewardene Brand of 'Socialism'

The main bourgeois challenger to Bandaranaike's SLFP is the United National Party (UNP) led by J.R. Jayewardene. The UNP has ruled the country before, most recently from 1965 to 1970. The fact that it has been out of power for seven years and can thus claim it bears no responsibility for the current economic situation gives it an advantage in the elections.

Traditionally, the UNP has represented the former landed gentry and the layer of the Sri Lankan bourgeoisie that is most closely tied to imperialism. But in face of a politically active labor movement and a growing youth radicalization, it too has attempted to present a "socialist" facade. Some of its candidates have claimed to be

to the "left" not only of the SLFP, but also of the LSSP and CP.

For example, W. Wijesuriya, the secretary of the Trincomalee branch of the UNP, was quoted in the May 27 *Ceylon Daily News* as stating, "The UNP was confined to the capitalist class once but it has now been transformed into a party of the common man." He lashed out at the SLFP as a capitalist party.

In addressing a UNP rally, Gamini Dissanayake denounced "those so-called arm-chair 'revolutionaries' of the CP and LSSP," according to the *Ceylon Daily News*.

B.H.S. Jayewardene reported in the April 29 *Far Eastern Economic Review*:

In an effort to improve its image, the party has pledged "to make the people the owners and managers of production, distribution and exchange" and to set up a workers' ownership fund so that they can buy into private enterprise and appoint workers to boards of management. The youth of the country will get a special place under a United Nationalist government, while "a job for at least one member of every family" is guaranteed—an old slogan of Sri Lanka's populist politics.

At the same time, the UNP's capitalist nature has continued to show through. Reflecting the UNP's traditionally proimperialist policies, party leader Jayewardene has pledged to set up a "free zone" for foreign companies at the port of Trincomalee.

In an interview in the May 20 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, he declared, "In the free zone we will give foreigners complete freedom to develop and increase their incomes without the threat of takeovers by the government or any other restrictions on private-sector investments. There will also be tax incentives for investment over a period of 10-15 years."

The UNP has also condemned the recent wave of strikes.

LSSP—More Popular Frontism

Bandaranaike's former coalition partners, the LSSP and CP, have blocked with a smaller bourgeois party to contest the elections under the banner of the United Left Front (ULF).

The LSSP, which was founded in 1935, was the first working-class party in the country. It is still the largest. During World War II a significant layer of the party moved toward Trotskyism and expelled a pro-Stalinist wing, which later became the Communist Party. After the war the LSSP was recognized as the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.

During the 1950s, however, the more opportunist section of the LSSP leadership, headed by N.M. Perera, began to lean toward class collaboration with the bourgeois SLFP. By 1964, Perera had dragged the majority of the leadership along this course, and the party entered a popular-

front electoral bloc—and then a coalition government—with the SLFP. For this betrayal of the Ceylonese working class the LSSP was expelled from the Fourth International.

Those members of the LSSP who re-



BANDARANAIKE: Will the voters love her promises as they did before?

mained true to the principles of revolutionary socialism split away to form the LSSP (Revolutionary), which was later renamed the Revolutionary Marxist Party, the present Sri Lankan section of the Fourth International.

In 1970, the LSSP again entered a coalition regime with the SLFP, this time in company with the CP. For their service in bolstering capitalist rule, the LSSP leaders were rewarded with three cabinet posts. Perera became finance minister; Colvin R. de Silva, plantation industries minister; and Leslie Goonewardene, transport minister. CP leader Pieter Keuneman was given the office of housing and construction minister.

In September 1975, however, Bandaranaike dropped the LSSP leaders from her cabinet, and in February 1977 Keuneman resigned his post.

Although the leaders of the two parties have stepped up their rhetoric since leaving the government, they have remained true to their class-collaborationist approach by establishing the ULF electoral bloc. Besides the LSSP and CP, this popular front includes the People's Democratic Party (PDP), the splinter from the

SLFP. In fact, the general secretary of the ULF is Bandaranaike's former industries minister, PDP leader T. B. Subasinghe.

The ULF election manifesto contains a series of vaguely formulated points, including pledges "to eliminate foreign capitalist monopolies," "to abolish completely feudal relations," "to limit and progressively reduce the role of the private sector," and "to democratise the state system" (as paraphrased in the May 30 *Ceylon Daily News*).

But since the main leaders of the ULF are all former cabinet ministers and have actively participated in implementing Bandaranaike's capitalist policies, the front faces a difficult task in its attempts to establish credibility among the electorate.

The Tamil Nationalist Candidates

In the Northern and Eastern provinces, where the minority Tamil-speaking community predominates, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) is fielding twenty-four candidates. The TULF comprises the two main Tamil parties, the Federal Party and the Tamil Congress. Its ally, the Ceylon Workers Congress, is running two candidates in the Central Province, where most of the Tamil plantation workers are concentrated.

The TULF has called for the establishment of an "independent sovereign socialist Tamil State," to be called Eelam.

The older Tamil nationalist leaders had previously limited their demands to an end to discrimination against Tamils by the Sinhala majority and to the setting up of a federal system that would allow autonomy in the Tamil areas. But according to a report in the June 25 issue of the *London Economist*, "pressure from Tamil youngsters, who bear the brunt of discriminatory laws and employment policies, has pushed the party towards a more militant line. It is now moving beyond demands for autonomy to outright separatism."

The Tamils in Sri Lanka number about 20 percent of the population. The ancestors of about half of them migrated to the country centuries ago and most of the rest were brought from India in the nineteenth century as workers for the British tea plantations. The Tamils are predominantly Hindu in religion, with some Christian and Muslim influence, while most Sinhalese are Buddhists.

Robin Osborne reported in the March 18 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "The Tamils' main grievances are the enforced use of the Sinhala language in bureaucratic life, and economic discrimination against Tamil areas by Colombo."

While the SLFP and UNP have made appeals for Tamil support in the current election campaign, both have supported discrimination against Tamils in the past. The SLFP in particular has been the most virulent proponent of Sinhalese chauvin-

ism and has conducted major attacks against the Tamils while in office.

Although the LSSP originally championed Tamil rights, it capitulated to Sinhala chauvinism when it entered Bandaranaike's government in 1964. As conditions for participation in the coalition, N.M. Perera agreed to accept Sinhala as the only official language and to recognize the 1948 anti-Tamil citizenship laws, which denied Ceylonese citizenship to most of the Tamil plantation workers. The CP accepted the Sinhala-only language policy in 1960.

The TULF has announced that it will refuse to join a post-election alliance with any of the major parties.

All Eyes Toward the Youth

The attitude of Sri Lanka's young voters will be one of the most crucial factors determining the outcome of the elections and the political situation in the post-election period.

More than 40 percent of all voters are thirty years of age or younger, about 1.5 million of them between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Unemployment has hit the youth particularly hard.

Denzil Peiris noted in the March 11 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "Most of the unemployed possess secondary school-leaving certificates. In 1971 their frustrations burst open in an armed rebellion."

There are signs that the youth radicalization that swept the island before the 1971 uprising is now reviving. The JVP resumed open activities after the end of the state of emergency in February. Less than two months later a JVP candidate was elected president of the Students Council at the Peradeniya campus of the University of Sri Lanka, which was the scene of mass student protests in November 1976.

Although about 2,000 JVP members and supporters are still in prison, including its central leader, Rohana Wijeweera, the JVP has fielded a few candidates in the elections. They are running as independents, since the JVP was denied official recognition under the Election Act.

In its campaign, the JVP has condemned the Bandaranaike regime for "the atrocities committed against youth in 1971." At a May Day rally, according to the May 2 *Ceylon Daily News*, JVP representative S. Amerasinghe "said the workers should organise themselves to usher in a workers' government shortly. No socialist government could be established by pact other than by a revolutionary process. There was the possibility of a repetition of the 1971 events."

JVP candidates have attacked the two main bourgeois parties, as well as the "cocktail circuit Marxists" and "senile leftists" of the CP and LSSP.

All the major parties are worried about the growing youth radicalization that the JVP reflects.

Bandaranaike has warned of the possibility of another uprising by youths, like that of 1971.

The UNP has made some demagogic overtures to the JVP, one candidate referring to Wijeweera as a "true and honest leader." In an obvious reference to the 1971 uprising, another UNP candidate warned, "Those young hands applauding us now may manufacture the bombs that will kill us. . . ."

Should that happen, Jayewardene has already indicated that he would follow Bandaranaike's example and crush any uprising. "I do not think it will be possible," he said, "for any government to permit violence or similar methods to be used to overthrow a democratically elected government."

United Left Front leader Subasinghe has stressed the need for urgent reforms. "But we must hurry," he said, "otherwise there could be an explosion."

Hector Abhayawardhana, an LSSP leader, attempted to slander the JVP, declaring, "The Government is using the JVP to create a rift among the Leftist parties." The LSSP has employed similar slanders before, in 1971 denouncing the JVP youth as "CIA agents."

One reason for these virulent attacks on the JVP may be the fact that the LSSP leadership is facing unrest among its own young members. In late March the LSSP expelled five members of its Central Committee, including Vasudeva Nanayakkara, the president of the LSSP Youth League.

According to the March 12 *Ceylon Daily News*, the five expelled leaders had proposed, among other things, that the LSSP leadership "accept the misdeeds of the political and trade union sections of the party while the LSSP was in the United Front [government] and see that these are not repeated in the future" and "reject the policy of class collaboration within the party which is now prevailing."

In a letter explaining their stance, the five called for "the creation of an anticapitalist United Left Front composed of the Sama Samaja Party, the Communist Party and all other left factions in the country, a

Front opposed to the UNP and the SLFP."

During the May Day celebrations, the LSSP leaders called on the police to prevent 2,000 supporters of the expelled Nanayakkara grouping from joining the main LSSP march. The police complied and six riot squads cordoned off the LSSP dissidents.

Trotskyist Campaign

In conjunction with the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU), the Revolutionary Marxist Party (RMP) is conducting an election campaign based on a revolutionary-socialist platform.

The RMP is running T.N. Perera and Upali Cooray in the Kesbewa and Dehiwela constituencies, while the CMU is fielding Deputy General Secretary Vernon Wijesinghe in Colombo North and H.A. Seneviratne in Kelaniya.

In response to the popular-front maneuvers of the LSSP and CP, the RMP issued a call for the establishment of an "Anti-Capitalist United Front" that would, among other things, "struggle for full freedom for the masses and complete equality for all sections of the population"; oppose "the present or any other capitalist government established by the SLFP or the UNP, separately or in combination with any other parties, be they so-called Left parties or otherwise"; have "the perspective of the overthrow of capitalist rule and the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Government by the masses"; and "set Ceylon on the path to Socialism."

At a rally in Colombo March 9, RMP Secretary Bala Tampoe demanded that the regime repeal the repressive Public Security Act and the Criminal Justice Commission Act.

The April issue of the *Vanguard*, the monthly journal of the CMU, blasted the continued imprisonment of Rohana Wijeweera and other JVP members: "We say the JVP leader, like everybody else, must also have the right to participate in the elections. Therefore, we say Wijeweera and all other political prisoners must be released before the elections without any conditions." □

JVP Prisoners Begin Hunger Strike

About 100 political prisoners in Sri Lanka have launched a hunger strike. Most of them had been convicted and sentenced for their alleged participation in the 1971 youth uprising, which was led by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front). One of those involved in the hunger strike is Rohana Wijeweera, the central leader of the JVP.

According to a report in the June 28

Ceylon Daily News, the protest action began three days earlier. The prisoners are demanding the removal of the chief jailer and the superintendent of prisons, as well as a meeting with the minister of home affairs.

Commissioner of Prisons P. Delgoda rejected the demands of the hunger strikers.

250,000 in U.S. Protest Discrimination Against Homosexuals

A quarter of a million persons marched in dozens of cities in the United States on June 26, demanding an end to discrimination against homosexuals.

The protests, among the largest around any issue in several years, showed that supporters of human rights for homosexuals have begun to organize a counterattack against the reactionary offensive spearheaded by right-wing entertainer Anita Bryant.

Bryant and her outfit, "Save Our Children, Incorporated," organized a vote drive in Miami, Florida, for a June 7 referendum. Sixty-nine percent of those who voted cast a ballot to overturn a local ordinance guaranteeing equal rights for homosexuals. (See *Intercontinental Press*, June 20, 1977, p. 690, and June 27, 1977, p. 752.)

Bryant's campaign received support from the notoriously racist Ku Klux Klan, and from the same reactionary forces who in recent weeks have applauded court decisions against "pornography," strengthening the death penalty, and restricting access to abortion.

One of the most massive demonstrations took place in San Francisco, where 200,000 persons turned out in the downtown area. Unlike Gay Freedom Day parades in previous years, which were marked by a festive atmosphere, the mood of this year's demonstration was angry and militant. Contributing to the march's size was a storm of protest over the murder three days earlier of Robert Hillsborough, a homosexual who was tracked to the door of his home by four thugs who screamed "faggot" as they stabbed him to death.

In New York City, tens of thousands of persons marched up Fifth Avenue in a demonstration that stretched for twenty-seven blocks. About one-third of the marchers were women, and thousands were Black and Latino. Thousands of persons lined both sides of the street, the majority of them clearly supporters of the demonstration.

In the July 8 issue of the revolutionary-socialist newsweekly the *Militant*, Ginny Hildebrand reported on the rally that followed:

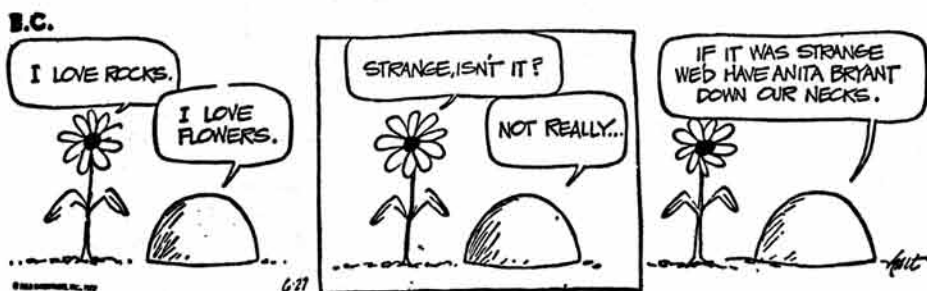
Rally cochairperson John Paul Hudson told the cheering crowd, "We are determined as never before to have our rights. . . . We're going to protest all over this country."

Hudson pointed out that like gays, women are under fire.

"Are you angry about what happened in Miami?" he asked.

"Yes!" the crowd shot back.

"Are you angry about the Supreme Court denying poor women free abortions?"



Hart/Field Enterprises

"Yes!"
 "Are you angry about defeats of the ERA [Equal Rights Amendment]?"
 "Yes!"

One banner greeted with special enthusiasm in the New York march was carried by two leaders of the Front d'Alliberamente Gai de Catalunya (FAGC—Gay Liberation Front of Catalonia).

On the same day in Barcelona, police charged a demonstration of 10,000 gay rights supporters, wounding several persons, according to a report in the June 28 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*.

The march was organized by the FAGC, and supported by feminist groups, Catalan nationalist groups, and several political parties, including the Revolutionary Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain, and the Revolutionary Communist Youth, a Trotskyist youth organization.

Similar actions took place in many other cities over the weekend, including a demonstration of more than 20,000 in Los Angeles; 1,000 in Atlanta; 6,000 in Chicago; more than 100 in Albuquerque, New Mexico; 450 in Minneapolis; 350 in Portland, Oregon; 500 in Miami; and more than 2,000 in Seattle.

Signs and banners carried by marchers on June 26, as well as remarks by rally

speakers, reflected the growing recognition that to counter the attacks on homosexual rights, the movement must reach out for support from women, Blacks, and other victims of oppression.

The *New York Times* reported June 28 that the Arkansas affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union has adopted a resolution condemning Anita Bryant. The ACLU also adopted a resolution urging state and local governments and the federal government to ban discrimination based on sex or sexual preference.

On July 1, eighty-five persons attended a forum in New York City on "How to Fight for Gay Rights: An Exchange of Views." The speakers were Joe Kear, a homosexual rights activist and member of the Miami branch of the Socialist Workers Party; Cheryl Adams, legislative coordinator for the New York City chapter of the National Organization for Women and chairperson of NOW's Lesbian Rights Committee; and David Thorstad, a past president of the Gay Activists Alliance and a leader of the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights.

The new coalition is planning a conference at Columbia University on July 16, where a campaign will be planned to mobilize support for passage of laws banning discrimination against homosexuals. □

Brezhnev's New Luxury Car

Soviet party boss Leonid Brezhnev added another car to his fabled collection of Western automobiles during a recent visit to France.

French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing presented Brezhnev with a small cross-country luxury car on a tour of the Matra automobile company. The new addition will be garaged with Brezhnev's super-luxury Citroen-Maserati SM, an earlier gift from France, and American limousines that were gifts from Richard Nixon.

As a connoisseur of fine automobiles, Brezhnev didn't hesitate to ask for a few changes in the appointments of his newest acquisition. A Matra spokesman reported that company officials were embarrassed when Brezhnev asked for the alterations.

"We had to stop the production line a while to fit new seats with dark brown instead of beige trim . . . then hold up the paint shop while we sprayed it blue, the color the President requested," he said. The car normally comes in three other colors and Brezhnev had been offered a green one.

Robert Langston: 'A Thoroughgoing Internationalist'

[The following is the text of the remarks by George Novack, a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, at a memorial meeting held in New York June 26 for Robert Langston.

[Langston, a member of the SWP for eleven years, died of a heart attack in Paris on June 10. He was forty-four years old.]

* * *

I first heard of Bob around 1964, when Evelyn Reed and I were living in Los Angeles, through a letter Karolyn Kerry sent us. She wrote that a friendly fellow had dropped into the *Militant* office where she was business manager, talked politics for a while, taken out a subscription to the paper and then, to her surprise, volunteered a sizable contribution to the movement. Such a windfall was a rarity in those lean days.

Karolyn said, "I wish you were here to meet and talk with this newfound sympathizer because the two of you seem to have so many interests in common. He is an intellectual who was educated at Harvard and Heidelberg and is well versed in philosophy."

So, when I came to New York some months later on party business, Tom and Karolyn arranged a dinner with Bob and me as guests and we spent a long evening together animatedly exploring each other's views and comparing our political itineraries.

I was impressed by the range of his knowledge in the fields of contemporary thought and the literature of the social sciences. We found we shared a high esteem for the accomplishments of Hegel's logic. I was no less drawn to him by the openness and directness of his personality, and very quickly decided that I liked him. Here, I felt, was an able younger intellectual who gave promise of becoming a valuable addition to our movement.

His political positions and ideas, while clearly pointing toward us, were still evolving and he had yet to resolve a few theoretical and organizational uncertainties in regard to the party. Bob had a searching critical intelligence harboring a streak of skepticism. But he abhorred any sort of dilettantism and diligently and thoroughly inquired into the ramifications of whatever he judged worthy of his attention and commitment.

The friendship that dated from this initial encounter grew firmer and closer from then on. When Evelyn and I returned to Manhattan in June 1965 we lodged in Bob's place in the West Village for the

summer until we found an apartment of our own. (Jim Morgan was likewise staying there.) Bob was a kindly and thoughtful host as well as a gourmet cook. We covered a lot of ground in the give and take of conversation during those weeks.

Many among us can testify, as some have done this afternoon, of their gratitude to Bob for his help as an educator, comrade, and dependable friend. But none are more indebted to him than Evelyn and me and this we want the whole party to know. We had previously explained to him the difficulty of our situation. Our literary projects had long been deferred because we had to earn a living and in that time of financial stringency the party could not afford to provide the means to free us for that work.

Bob agreed to underwrite our living expenses for a period of years. This was a boon that at our ages descended like manna from heaven. Without that magnanimous offer and sympathetic understanding most of the books and articles Evelyn and I wrote after 1965 might not have been forthcoming as regularly as they have. It enabled us to labor at our desks with an assured income.

We went through the list of projects on my agenda and decided that the book on *Democracy and Revolution* should take precedence. I drafted its introduction that summer at his home while Evelyn assembled her research materials and started writing what was to become *Woman's Evolution*.

That is only part of the story. After a hiatus lasting many years the party had just set up its own printshop and launched an ambitious publishing program. Bob made possible the immediate production of the finished manuscript of *The Origins of Materialism*, which he also helped to edit.

Bob was a source of support not only for enterprises like this one but also for targets of racial and class injustice. I recall two occasions of his assistance to victimized Black militants. He went bail for Rap Brown when he was arrested on a frame-up charge, and another time for Reuben Francis, one of Malcolm X's chief bodyguards, who shot one of his murderers on the spot. Though bail was forfeited by the flight of the defendants in both cases, Bob took the losses in good spirit like a quartermaster for front-line fighters in the struggle for Black liberation.

I mention these as unpublicized aspects of Bob's open-handedness, though he has been better known to the comrades as a writer for our press and an educator.

Bob started out in life with material and

educational advantages. Thanks to his family's resources he was able to expand his studies over the years at a series of universities here and abroad. He was not in the least a self-centered careerist and wanted everyone to have by right what had accrued to him by the accident of birth.

Although he was acquainted early with the ideas of socialism, it took him a while to arrive at the viewpoint of revolutionary Marxism. He once told me that he was won over to the side of socialism through his experiences, reading and rethinking while studying for a doctorate in West Germany. In the academic atmosphere there a serious student might move either toward the existentialist metaphysics of Martin Heidegger or to Marxism by way of assimilating Hegel's dialectics in a materialist manner.

Bob took the second course but in so doing turned elements from the activist side of Heidegger's doctrines to his own uses. Heidegger taught that we are thrown into this world by chance, like castaways on a beach. Against this absurd state of being, man is free to transform his world and redefine himself by the concerns he has and the commitments he makes. Heidegger further opined that since every choice we make excludes other options, such unavoidable sacrifice renders us guilty and fraught with anxiety. Nonetheless, Bob embraced Marxism without the guilt that the authentic self was supposed to be subject to, according to the existentialist philosophy.

Upon returning to Oklahoma City he entered the Socialist Party at a time when Cuba provided the touchstone of the attitude of every radical toward American imperialism and the socialist revolution. With the reflex of a true internationalist, Bob was repelled by the counterrevolutionary stand of the SP on this issue as well as by its low ideological level. This sent him in search of a political organization that was genuinely Marxist and so he came to the door of the SWP.

It took him a while to step through that door. He wanted to make certain that the party really was what it claimed to be and was worthy of his complete commitment. That delay in formal adherence did not prevent him from becoming an industrious sympathizer and assuming a variety of practical tasks in the national headquarters.

I vividly remember those afternoons when he together with Reba Hansen, Evelyn, Ruth Schein and I, would collate the mimeographed sheets of *World Outlook*, the former name of *Intercontinental Press*, as they were churned out of the duplicator, and get the copies ready for mailing. A very crude procedure indeed compared with the present extensive and efficient setup!

Bob was quickly drawn into civil-

liberties work and, together with Berta, he shouldered the administration of the Alexander Defense Committee. This was set up in 1965 to demand the release of Neville Alexander, a South African Black political dissident sentenced for ten years to the dreaded Robben Island prison. Bob and Berta collaborated in publicizing the case, raising funds for defense and relief, and helped defeat an attempt by the Department of Justice to legalize the committee. That collaboration ripened into an enduring personal companionship.

You have heard of the worth of Bob's work for our press. He was extremely conscientious, I should say, conscientious almost to a fault, in literary assignments and scholarly matters. He felt that he had to find out and weigh almost everything written about a given subject before he pronounced his own judgment upon it. This did not make for facile journalism and it tended to inhibit his literary output. Consequently he did not, despite his prolonged and assiduous studies in economic theory and sociology, produce as much or as easily as some others. This regrettably delayed realizing the full potential of his talents and learning until it was too late.

In the past few years Bob held views on some questions at variance with those adopted by the majority membership and leadership of the SWP. After moving upstate he relaxed his ties with the party, then sought a change of scene and departed for Paris, where a heart attack suddenly cut short his career.

Bob was a thoroughgoing internationalist in his outlook and in his experience. He was dedicated to the victory of the program and aims of the Fourth International and followed the development of its sections on all continents from month to month. He wanted a rational, humane, egalitarian society and applied himself to the best of his ability to promote that goal through the Socialist Workers Party and the world party of socialist revolution.

* * *

I never expected to utter a valedictory for Bob. As Shakespeare phrased it: "He should have died hereafter, there would have been a time for such a word."

As a convinced materialist and atheist, Bob would not have wanted his comrades and friends to indulge in fictitious consolations for his premature end, which has come as so much of a jolt to us all. He would, however, have the right to ask that our movement steadfastly pursue the path he took with us toward human liberation as it has been charted by the founders and teachers of our world movement from Marx to Trotsky.

That course would match his hopes. And that, Bob, we pledge to do. □

The Blowout That Caught Worldwide Attention

Why Ekofisk Was Only a Question of Time

[The following article appeared in the May 28 issue of *La Brèche*, a revolutionary socialist newspaper published twice monthly in Lausanne, Switzerland. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The Ekofisk oilfield is located 280 kilometers offshore from the Norwegian port of Stavanger. It consists of a central complex and three drilling platforms, and employs 1,000 persons. Production began in 1972, and has now reached an output of fifteen million [metric] tons a year. The sea is seventy meters deep. The oil deposit is located 3,000 meters beneath the ocean floor. Ekofisk belongs to a consortium controlled by Phillips Petroleum, the tenth ranking American oil company, which did \$3 billion worth of business in 1973, and whose share is 36.96 percent. The rest is owned by nine Norwegian, French, Belgian, and Italian companies.

On Friday, April 22, a group of workers on the Bravo oil platform, which includes seventeen wells, had to halt drilling at Well Number 14, in order to remove a measuring instrument that had gotten stuck at the bottom. That afternoon, they pumped drilling fluid into the well. The weight of the fluid, or mud, is calculated to act like a stopper, by equaling the pressure of the gas and oil coming from the bottom of the well.

Next, as a safety measure, the group waited five hours, to make sure that everything stayed in place. Then they began to unscrew the valves that cap the top of the well. Without these valves, the pressure of the oil is held back only by the column of mud, and by an automatic choke valve located sixty-five meters beneath the ocean floor.

At 9:30 p.m., the crew began to install a blowout preventer at the top of the well. This is a throttling device equipped with several valves and safety clamps that makes it possible to work on the well without a blowout—an oil eruption. It has fourteen bolts that must be secured. Two bolts had been tightened when the warning signals went off, indicating that the mud had started to rise. Disaster had struck. After several desperate attempts, the platform was evacuated, and at 9:36 p.m., a sixty-meter-high stream of oil and condensed gas began gushing out of the well at a speed of 960 kilometers per hour and a temperature of 100 degrees Celsius, spilling onto the platform and into the sea at a temperature of 60 degrees Celsius.

The press has reported the exploits of Red Adair and his "boys" in great detail.

They finally succeeded in capping the well on Saturday, April 30. In eight days, the well had spewed around 30,000 tons of oil into the sea. Around half of it evaporated, leaving an island of oil measuring 4,500 square kilometers, which was fortunately broken up by the wind and North Sea currents and dispersed before it reached the coast. If Red Adair's efforts had failed, it would have been necessary to seal the well beneath the ocean floor by drilling a second well next to it, which would have taken at least fifty days. In the meantime, 200,000 tons would have been spilled into the sea.

The weight of the drilling fluid was miscalculated, the automatic choke valve was disconnected, and, in addition, the blowout preventer, whose installation was hastily interrupted, had been installed upside down.

Was this inevitable—the necessary price to pay for the foolish venture of offshore oil drilling? Not entirely. More specifically, it was a consequence of the drive for profits to be gotten out of the North Sea oil deposits, which leads to systematic neglect of safety procedures, because they are expensive and slow down production.

The automatic choke valves function poorly. Twenty-five to forty-five percent of these valves were malfunctioning during the major accidents in the Gulf of Mexico in 1970 and 1971. Since then, United States government agencies have required the use of new choke valves that can be operated from the platform, with a heavier apparatus whose installation requires the removal of some pipes, and which is therefore more expensive.* Well Number 14 apparently had no such valves.

Officially, safety is guaranteed by the arsenal of rules and checking procedures that the bourgeois state forces private industry to comply with. This is a tacit admission that the capitalists must be watched because it is in their interest to skimp on safety procedures. As usual, however, the bourgeois state shows its understanding of the interests of the industry:

Today, there are already serious questions as to whether the Norwegian petroleum authority, despite all of its assertions about exerting close, critical supervision over the oil companies, and enforcing strict safety standards, does not in fact practice benign neglect.

During a visit by Norwegian safety inspectors to the Ekofisk platform, workers complained that

*Kash, ed., *Energy Under the Oceans: A Technology Assessment of Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Operations* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), p. 120.

the procedures required for the replacement of safety valves were not always followed. . . .

A stern warning about these irregularities was issued to Phillips Petroleum. Almost simultaneously, however, four top executives of Phillips were awarded the Order of Saint Olaf for their achievements in drilling for oil in the North Sea. [Der Spiegel, May 2, 1977.]

It is incumbent on the companies to acquire the necessary antipollution equipment for the open sea. A recently passed law gave them until the fall of 1977 to purchase the machinery [although production began in 1972—*La Brèche*]. Now disaster has struck, and Phillips Petroleum—like all the companies, for that matter—is clearly unprepared to stop the flow of oil into the ocean. A company spokesman explained yesterday that they needed time to acquire the equipment, especially since technically it is not yet ready. [24 Heures, April 28, 1977.]

The University of Oklahoma report cited above, which is devoid of any dissident coloration, gives a general overview of the problem in a paragraph that could serve as a model of Marxist analysis of the non-neutral nature of the bourgeois state:

As noted earlier, OCS [outer continental shelf orders are the product of industry-government cooperation. Furthermore, interactions between industry and agency personnel occur in a number of ways and at a variety of levels. Technology conferences, memberships on advisory boards, and the normal social interaction of people with similar backgrounds and interests insure that both the regulators and the regulated operate from a common background and within a well-defined framework. From both technical and administrative standpoints, the relationships are in no sense sinister. Nevertheless, the OCS regulations have always been well within the state of the art as practiced by the industry so that compliance has proved no serious technical challenge. [Energy Under the Oceans, p. 113.]

The Ekofisk blowout is the worst that has yet occurred on the open sea. According to the University of Oklahoma report, a major blowout occurs once a year for every 3,000 wells in operation. There are already 1,000 wells in the North Sea. This means that a blowout can be expected to occur once every three years!

All of this takes place in a sea that is already dangerously polluted, one of the most polluted after the Baltic and the Mediterranean. Tankers spill 50,000 to 100,000 tons of oil into it per year, the Rhine River deposits 50,000 tons, as well as various other substances, such as 2,000 tons of lead and 1,000 tons of arsenic. All beaches in the German Federal Republic are mildly polluted by oil 50 percent of the time and seriously polluted 34 percent of the time. In 1976 Norwegian fishermen blockaded the port of Stavanger, which had become the capital of the Norwegian oil industry, to protest the pollution of the North Sea by the oil industry.

In many countries, offshore oil drilling is a major target of environmentalists. Is it necessary for furthering world oil production? Aren't the onshore deposits sufficient? A satisfactory answer to these

Every Three Years

An Ekofisk-type disaster can be expected to recur every three years in the North Sea. It comes on top of continual oil pollution of the seas that is already of extreme gravity. Six million metric tons of oil are dumped into the ocean each year—the equivalent of 200 Ekofisk blowouts!

These six million tons are distributed as follows: Routine degasification by oil tankers—1,080,000. Cleaning of other ships' oil tanks—500,000. Accidents involving oil tankers and other ships—300,000. Discharges while in dry dock—250,000. Exploitation of underseas oil reserves—80,000. Natural leaks from

underseas deposits—600,000. Wastes from coastal oil refineries—200,000. Coastal industrial and urban waste—600,000. Wastes deposited by rivers—1,600,000. Atmospheric fallout—600,000.

These types of pollution are one example among many of how capitalism, private property, and the laws of the market are incompatible with concern for the environment. In an economic system like this one, control of the oil industry, as of all other industries, is in the hands of a class that has an interest in skimping on safety and antipollution measures.

questions would require extensive research. Nevertheless, there are indications that it is profit considerations alone that impel the trusts to prefer underseas oil:

One of the curious aspects of these disagreements is how sharply they divide oil companies and government agencies. A recent Department of Interior summary lists five oil-company estimates of the amount of recoverable oil, as yet undiscovered, which future explorations expected to locate: 168, 90, 89, 55, and 24-64 billion barrels. Also listed are four U.S. Geological Survey estimates: 458, 400, 200-400, and 72 billion barrels. (The last and much the lowest of these estimates was made by the same geologist, M. King Hubbert, who reported the figure of 24-64 billion barrels while working for an oil company.) Even more curious are the separate estimates of onshore and offshore reserves made by the U.S. Geological Survey and the Mobil Oil Company. For onshore reserves the USGS estimate is 135-270 billion barrels of oil. The

Mobil Company estimate is much lower: 34 billion barrels, or 13-25 percent of the USGS estimate. However, the offshore estimates are in much better agreement; the oil company's estimate (54 billion barrels) is within 42-84 percent of the government's (64-130 billion barrels). Perhaps by coincidence, the disparities between the two sets of estimates parallel the interest of oil companies in developing offshore deposits rather than onshore ones. [Barry Commoner, *The Poverty of Power* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), p. 49.]

This important point can best be understood in the context of the knowledge that the oil trusts always underestimate the reserves in order to drive up prices, obtain government subsidies and allowances, and hide behind the appearance of a limited number of choices, which are in fact dictated only by the search for the highest possible profits. □

State Department Denies Visa to Ruairi O Bradaigh

The American embassy in Dublin refused last month to grant Sinn Féin President Ruairi O Bradaigh a visa to travel to New York, according to a front-page article in the July 2 issue of the New York weekly *Irish People*.

O Bradaigh had been invited to address the New York state convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the largest Catholic organization in the United States. State Department officials told Hibernian representative Dr. Fred Burns O'Brien that to let O Bradaigh in "would not be in the best interests of peace in Northern Ireland."

Another State Department official, O'Brien said, charged that O Bradaigh was a member of the Executive Committee of the Provisional IRA. O'Brien denied the

accusation, pointing out that if any evidence existed linking O Bradaigh to the provisionals, the Sinn Féin leader would long ago have been indicted by the Dublin government.

The *Irish People* article also recalled that last October during the presidential election campaign, Jimmy Carter promised Irish-American leaders he would act to lift visa restrictions.

"... it looks like the president perjured himself before the Irish American community," O'Brien said. "Our rights, as well as those of Rory O Bradaigh under the Helsinki Final Act have been violated."

O'Brien said Irish-American organizations are contemplating a lawsuit in federal court to overturn the State Department ruling.

'Eurocommunism' and the State

Reviewed by Gerry Foley



Santiago Carrillo's Book "*Eurocomunismo*" y Estado ("Eurocommunism" and the State) appeared on the book stalls in Spain just in time for the beginning of the election campaign that ended on June 15. It is a small work, of just over 200 pages, published in a cheap format, and obviously intended to serve as a theoretical backup for the pamphlets that present the Spanish CP program.

In his introduction, Carrillo notes that the Spanish CP leadership has come under fire from two directions—from those who argue that its avowal of democratic principles is only a cover for plans to seize power by force, and from those who accuse it of presenting views like those of the Social Democrats. He explains the purpose of his book as follows:

What is needed is an overall analysis of today's developed capitalist society and its world context, of the results of the advance in the development of the means of production and the new social struggles this has promoted. In particular, there is a need for a study of the type of state that exists now, especially of the possibilities for transforming it by democratic methods. . . .

Until we work out a firm conception of the possibilities for democratizing the capitalist state apparatus, for transforming it into a tool for building a socialist society . . . we will either be accused of playing a tactical game or be confused with Social Democrats.

Carrillo could not ignore the fact that the concept of the capitalist state becoming transformed from an instrument of class oppression into an instrument of human progress constitutes the essence of classical revisionism and Social Democratic reformism. He obviously decided to defend himself by taking the offensive.

The Spanish CP chief's attack is two-pronged. On the one hand, he uses an argument similar to that of the original revisionists: The capitalist state is changing because of advances in culture and social organization.

On the other hand, he argues that it is now possible to transform the capitalist state without having to destroy the old apparatus root and branch because of the new international relationship of forces created by the Russian revolution, the appearance of new workers states after the Second World War, and the collapse of the

old colonial empires under the impact of the colonial revolution.

What is the concrete reality today? The reality is that despite the power imperialism still has as a social system, it has been destabilized, first by the great October socialist revolution, and subsequently by the advance of socialism, with all its limitations, failings, and imperfections—which we do not hide and have no interest in hiding—in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America; and by the whole process of decolonization. This destabilization increases continually and is stimulating currents of change in the countries that have until now dominated the world.

Carrillo advances the idea that the socialist revolution can spread, like the bourgeois revolution initiated in France, as

"*Eurocomunismo*" y Estado ("Eurocommunism" and the State), by Santiago Carrillo. Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1977. 218 pp. Paperback.

the result of the circulation of ideas and irreversible social processes, with the old ruling class itself gradually becoming reconciled to the need for accepting the new social order. This would be similar to the transformation of English aristocratic rule in several steps beginning with the 1830 electoral reform, and the rise of the bourgeoisie to a dominant position in several continental countries—most notably Germany—without a revolution.

As happened with the bourgeois transformation, part of the ruling classes in a waning society may change their attitude. Under the impact of the weight socialism has in the world, of the new problems created by confrontations with the formerly colonized countries, and of economic processes, such as the growth of the productive forces that is overflowing the channels of capitalism and imperialism, part of the ruling classes may become more open to new ideas and better able to cooperate in one way or another with the new social system.

Carrillo acknowledges that he and his party leadership have changed some of their historical views about the nature of the capitalist state. However, he says that the Soviet leadership itself has often changed positions on issues formerly regarded as matters of principle:

Stalin, who claimed to be Lenin's successor,

revised, and, with the approval of the leading bodies of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union], blithely rescinded theses enunciated by Lenin. Khrushchev did not limit himself to revising, but condemned, and rightly so, the practices and ideas of Stalin. And he did this with the approval of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses. The present leaders of the CPSU revised Khrushchev's positions, and, what is more, buried him alive politically. . . .

And some of them, who are rending their garments today about the *revisionism* of the Spanish Communist Party and other Western Communist parties, have revised positions many times, including their own, although they always found scapegoats to blame for moves for which, in one way or another, they were responsible.

Who Fathered Carrillo's Revisions?

Carrillo did not say which of Lenin's theses Stalin's CPSU revised. He should have mentioned Lenin's view of the necessity for the socialist revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries in particular. Stalin threw out this position, arguing in effect that extending socialism would be a by-product of building it in the USSR.

The Spanish CP chief's view that gradual transformation of the capitalist state has been made possible by the growth in the power of the Soviet Union and the other workers states that arose in its shadow is clearly an offspring of Stalin's conception.

Carrillo argues not only that the new world relationship of forces makes the capitalist state more susceptible to change. He maintains that the division of the world into blocs dominated by the two nuclear "superpowers" rules out revolutionary processes of the "classical" type that could uproot the bourgeois state. He says that heretofore all such revolutionary upsurges have been by-products of the defeat of the capitalist state in war, but in the nuclear age no such possibilities exist:

A war in Europe, which would at the same time be a world war, . . . would end in the collapse of the contending classes because it would involve the destruction of humanity and of all the material and social progress thus far achieved. . . .

To fail to take account of this factor and continue speaking about revolution in the same terms as in the past—even the recent past—has ceased to be revolutionary.

Of course, it cannot be excluded that in a

favorable international context, in a developed country where there is no freedom and where the ruling class exercises a brutal dictatorship against its people, a revolution might triumph through an act of force, if the people won the support of a decisive section of the armed forces. But even in this case, if that country were plunged into a prolonged civil war, involving intervention by the great powers, the consequences would be catastrophic.

Without entirely excluding this possibility, it is clear that the roads to socialism in the [advanced] countries . . . have to be of another type. They have to be roads that combine the democratic action of the masses with the action of representative democratic institutions, that is, by getting the representative democratic instruments that today fundamentally serve capitalism to serve instead the cause of socialism.

Carrillo's view of the unlikelihood of revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries and the general perspective he draws from this corresponds entirely to the Soviet bureaucracy's conception of peaceful coexistence. Identical positions, down to the details, have been put forward by the Kremlin and the representatives of such superloyal Stalinist parties as the American CP.

Carrillo's Personal Contribution

The Spanish CP head does, however, pose this reformist perspective in a way somewhat different from that of the Stalinists in the past. He does not mention the reformist two-stage theory of the Mensheviks which was adopted by Stalin; that is, that a historical stage of perfecting bourgeois democracy has to be completed before socialist revolution can be contemplated.

Carrillo presents the process of the "transformation" of the bourgeois state as a continuous one. This enables him, in effect, to drop the perspective of socialist revolution in the distant, hypothetical future. One of the advantages is to reassure the West European capitalists that the "Eurocommunist" CPs are not thinking of making a revolution or proposing to plant this idea in the heads of the workers.

At the same time, this concept of an uninterrupted process raises the possibility in the immediate future of "structural reforms" going beyond the framework of capitalism, using the term in its proper sense. The advantage is to open the possibility of flexible adjustment to the movements and ideas popular among radicalizing youth in the universities and factories. Likewise, it makes it possible for Carrillo to acknowledge that capitalism is in its death agony and that its institutions are rotten through and through. Thus, there are two sides to his argument that the capitalist state has changed its nature.

Today's state has at its service not only an army, the police, the courts, the tax collectors, and the traditional bureaucracy, but hundreds of thousands of teachers, administrators, techni-

icians, journalists, and other white-collar workers. It remains the instrument of class rule that Marx, Engels, and Lenin described. But its structures are much more complex and contradictory than those familiar to the three Marxist teachers, and in its relations with society it presents some different features.

The onset of the world recession, Carrillo says, has shown that the expanded state apparatus of "neocapitalism" today is extremely vulnerable to mass radicalization.

It has become clear that the new Leviathan, one still more monstrous than that described by Hobbes, is today the focus of all the contradictions running through society and is tremendously vulnerable to all of them. In short, without minimizing its power, it is a colossus with feet of clay.

With all its confused and anarchic aspects and its inclusiveness, the May-June 1968 movement in France did not fail to help reveal the weaknesses of this kind of state, underneath all its seeming omnipotence. This movement was probably the first great social revolt against this kind of state and it refigures others.

In the case of the Watergate scandal, not all the determining factors are yet clear. But in this instance certain ideological apparatuses of the society entered into open conflict with the coercive apparatuses and won a victory, although a limited one. This type of confrontation is characteristic of the contradictions to which the present state system of monopoly capital is prey.

As an example of the vulnerability of the institutions traditionally defending the capitalist order, Carrillo cites the church. His evidence consists of statements by bishops that the principles of capitalism are contrary to Christian morality. Such playing up of the Catholic hierarchy's demagoguery has been standard practice for Stalinist parties for more than a decade. For the sake of getting closer to the church, the Italian CP leadership, Carrillo's ally, tried to keep the issues of divorce and abortion out of parliament.

But the growth of the women's liberation movement forced the Italian CP to adapt to it. Carrillo has evidently followed suit:

Among the ideological apparatuses, the family itself, in the traditional sense, is in a period of transformation. . . . The advances toward women's liberation—which are still so insufficient!—through increased economic independence from men; the winning of some rights—although these are often merely formal—such as divorce, contraception, abortion; the loosening of semipatriarchal relations between parents and children . . . ; the moral crisis that so directly affects the family, underlying which is a search for a new morality . . . all form a series of interrelated factors that indicate that the family as the nucleus of human society is heading toward extinction, that is, that it is in the process of transformation.

One aspect of the crisis of capitalism is the shift of the electorate to the left in several European countries. Carrillo takes this as a new argument for the Stalinist strategy of "antimonopoly alliances."

This new relationship of forces is stimulating and strengthening sincerely socialist positions in the Socialist and Social Democratic parties and in the progressive and socialist currents in the Christian movement. Together with these sectors, the Communist parties can create a new system of political forces that will deprive monopoly capital of the mass support on which it depends and transform it into the basis for a democratic advance toward socialism.

Tips Hat to French May

Carrillo also adapts standard Stalinist reformism to conditions of mass radicalization:

This crisis [the French May] could not be resolved by action in the streets alone or by a frontal assault on the governmental power as in other classical crises. It required, perhaps, that the mass struggle culminate in democratic initiatives of various kinds, among these new elections and a serious and responsible alternative—such as that offered today by the Union of the Left. . . .

The May crisis did not lead to immediate change because, among other things:

Immature and anarchistic groups intimidated broad sections of the middle class and of the state apparatus itself, thereby reducing the influence of the left.

Carrillo continues:

Nonetheless, May 1968 helped to prepare the conditions for the coming triumph of the left in France.

Not only did the French May help prepare the way for the electoral victory of a popular-front alliance, but it also had an impact on the decisive core of the capitalist state apparatus—the repressive forces. As a result of such a shock, as well as long-term processes, "interesting phenomena are occurring in the French army, not only in the ranks but at the level of the high command."

Calls for Gentle Police and Peace-Minded Army

In the May crisis, also, Carrillo notes, the police began to balk at the repressive role they were assigned. The conclusions he draws from the signs of crisis in the repressive forces, however, are completely within the framework of standard Stalinist reformism:

The forces of public order, the police, must exist to defend the society from antisocial elements, to regulate traffic, to protect the population. . . .

That is, we have to fight, by political means, to improve a new more civilized concept of public order, taking as its inspiration the idea of defending the population as a whole and not the interests of a privileged minority. And we must instill this idea in the heads of the forces of order themselves.

The way to "transform" the army is to appeal to the "patriotism" and "professionalism" of the officer corps:

NATO justifies its existence by the possibility of a Soviet attack. At a certain point, this made it possible to link NATO and the idea of the fatherland. But inasmuch as for twenty years there has been no Soviet aggression, and the fundamentally conservative orientation of the Warsaw Pact has been confirmed, NATO is becoming a bureaucratic-military apparatus in search of an objective to justify itself. In the last analysis, it is above all an instrument for American political, economic, and military control of Europe. And so the idea of the fatherland fades, and none of the countries involved knows what its military policy is, or what the objectives of its armed instruments are.

The result of this, Carrillo says is:

Internationally, the crisis of society we are experiencing is manifested also in a crisis in which the most educated and professionally minded officers are seeking a new identity. In this respect the book recently published by Commander Prudencio García is significant and interesting. He says that the armies must prepare to support a policy of peace and disarmament, even though this be a long-range perspective.

Carrillo defines the task of the left as follows:

What we have to do is not exploit the army for a different political purpose, and still less think in terms of military coups, . . . but achieve an identification between the army and civil society in this age of transition, an identification that will overcome the historic equation that the oligarchy plus the armed forces equals conservatism and reaction, and facilitate the democratic advance of the progressive forces toward a new equalitarian and just type of society.

Carrillo goes on to say that from the standpoint of achieving such a change of heart on the part of the military, "the old antimilitarist attitudes, the pure and simple political agitation, the purely negative approach to the army, will not help

but will make it impossible to achieve our task and will help the ruling oligarchy to make a bloc with the armed forces."

Carrillo virtually excludes the possibility of utilizing a revolutionary crisis to break up the bourgeois armies. He bases this conclusion on the argument that the world relationship of forces cannot be rapidly altered without risking a nuclear disaster. He says that the CPs regard the continued existence of the military as a social necessity. But it must be transformed in accordance with the changes in modern society.

In this modern conception, the officer is not a member of a kind of closed order isolated from society and standing above it, but is instead a member of a body of educators devoted to giving a certain kind of education to citizens so that they can defend the integrity of the national territory if necessary.

To be sure, this conception is not that of the present state. But even in this state, if we can above all get the ideological apparatuses to turn more and more against it, this conception can gradually win the acceptance of very broad sectors of officers, since it is based on objective material factors, on a historical tendency that is constantly gathering strength.

These factors, this tendency, are linked to the growth of the productive forces, which usually develop most rapidly in their application to the technique and art of war. By their increasing sophistication, these aspects require more and more professional training. The armies are the instrument of the policy of states in a world that is no longer homogeneous and in which there are various kinds of social systems, in which the colonial empires have disappeared and—however slowly—a process of democratization is at work in the field of relations among nations. . . .

As a result there is in the developed capitalist states what we might call a crisis of military doctrine. . . . The definition of the purpose of the armies is constantly changing. This has led to a

crisis of NATO. Changing the world balance of power, which was once achieved almost periodically through war among the various states, has now become prohibitively expensive . . . as a result of the nuclear deterrent.

The balance of power that exists today is a product of the Second World War and the upsets it caused. It is based on the military dominance of the two great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Unless there is a fit of madness that would destroy the planet, this balance cannot be changed through direct confrontation. This is the reason for the undeniable advances in peaceful coexistence.

Carrillo draws the following implications from this for the Spanish military and the West European military in general:

. . . in countries such as ours that cannot aspire to become military powers . . . a primary objective . . . must be to let the big powers know that the cost of occupation would be too high. . . .

But in these circumstances a war for national defense would have to become a war of the entire people. It could not be a war in the interest of an oligarchic class or something foreign to the country. . . .

The forces for change in the society must wage an open struggle for the kind of army capable of assuming the task of national defense. . . . On this basis, it is possible to win the understanding and sympathy of the professionals who have a calling for their job.

As an example of such a process, Carrillo mentions the collaboration of the Communist Party and "patriotic officers" in the French resistance movement. All the themes and proposals he raises, in fact, have long been part and parcel of Stalinist strategy.

There is, however, inevitably a certain difference of perspective between the CPs in the West European countries and the

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Kremlin on how to promote "national independence." The Kremlin could do this by cozying up to de Gaulle in the 1960s. But this tryst between the "independence-minded" but reactionary and antilabor Gaullist regime and Moscow became increasingly embarrassing to the French CP. It was eventually forced to protest, even though it was then still a totally servile follower of the Kremlin. Today the West European CPs' support for "patriotic officers" has to be presented as part of a process of progressive social change.

A New Soul Will Do the Job

Carrillo also makes proposals for "democratizing" the capitalist state through decentralization and the creation of "organs of people's power" to complement the traditional bourgeois parliaments. Such conceptions correspond to the needs of Stalinist bureaucracies in countries where there is a mass radicalization offering possibilities for building bureaucratic machines. These ideas are being pushed not only by the Eurocommunist Spanish and Italian CPs, but have been advanced by the old-line Stalinist leaders in Portugal as well.

In defending his concept of the need to transform the bourgeois state rather than uproot it, Carrillo constantly points to the reality of the Stalinist regimes to show that what he proposes is actually not so different from the practice of "living socialism."

This conception of the state and the struggle to democratize it presupposes abandoning, in its classical form, the idea of a *workers and peasants state*, that is, a state built from the ground up, bringing into its offices the workers in the factories and the peasants on the land and sending them to take the place of the functionaries who worked in the offices before. Moreover, such a state has never existed anywhere except in theory. Even where the revolution has triumphed by force, the bureaucracy, with some exceptions, has remained in place, and the new functionaries have rapidly acquired many of the same tricks as the old.

Carrillo acknowledges that his perspective for the transformation of the capitalist state involves the coexistence for a long period of public and private property. He defends this by saying:

Let us look at the reality of the socialist countries that have made their revolution by the classical path. Most of them have already lived for decades under the new system. While the taking of power was rapid in a historic sense, the economic and social transformation is proceeding at a much slower pace. Inequalities still persist. . . .

To show that his perspective for transforming the bourgeois state is in line with a historical tendency in the Soviet leadership itself, the "Eurocommunist" leader quotes Khrushchev's report to the Twentieth Congress:

It is quite probable that the forms of transition

to socialism will become more and more various. It is by no means necessary that achieving this will in all circumstances involve civil war. . . .

This raises the question of the possibility of a parliamentary road to socialism. . . . Moreover, in present circumstances, the working class in the capitalist countries has a real possibility of uniting under its leadership the immense majority of the people and assuring the passage of the principal means of production into the hands of the people. . . .

Winning a solid parliamentary majority based on the mass movement of the proletariat and the white-collar workers will create in various capitalist countries . . . the conditions that will assure radical social transformations.

Carrillo cites Khrushchev here because he presents him as a representative of a blocked democratization process in the USSR. In fact, he could find the same type of statements in the speeches of Brezhnev or even Stalin. In order to play up Khrushchev as something different from the present Kremlin leaders, Carrillo even says that they removed him "by a kind of palace revolution," as if a change of leadership in a Stalinist regime has ever occurred by any other means. In fact, Khrushchev rose to power in exactly the same way as he fell from it.

In an attempt to prove to the workers and radicalized elements in his own country that it is unrealistic to look forward to revolutionary changes, Carrillo finds it useful to point to the reality of the Stalinist regimes. When it comes to making the program of his party look attractive, however, this example will not serve at all.

This conception of the state [that he has presented] involves also rejecting a one-party state apparatus. We have to build a state apparatus that will faithfully respect the will of those elected by the people. . . .

Carrillo has to make a special effort to show that while his party maintains its historic continuity, its program does not involve defending Stalinist dictatorship.

In order to achieve our objective we must recover for the forces fighting for socialism the intellectual and moral values that the system of state monopoly capital tries to identify with itself, which the bourgeoisie could represent in another age when it was a revolutionary class. . . .

It is a necessity and an obligation to *open a breach, to bring about a real differentiation* between those who sincerely hold the values of democracy and political liberation and those for whom democracy and liberalism mean exclusively maintaining monopoly capitalist property and their economic privileges.

Carrillo stresses that he is willing to be very generous in granting democratic credentials if the favor is returned.

What distinguishes a real democrat or liberal today from a frenzied defender of the monopoly capitalist system is the acceptance of the right of the socialist forces to govern and apply their program if, through a vote, the majority of the population grants them such a mandate. . . .

I would say at the same time that what

distinguishes the European Communist parties that have assimilated the experience of this period, and that fully appreciate the value of democracy, is their attitude toward criticisms that are made of them in good faith, their democratic style in political polemics and ideological struggle, and their own attitude toward the defects of the established socialist systems, particularly toward forms that are totalitarian in a certain sense (although they should never be confused with the fascist regimes), toward the underestimation of democratic rights, individual human freedoms, bureaucratism and so forth.

This critical attitude differentiates these Communist parties from those who are enemies of these ["socialist"] countries, not because of the defects in their political system but because they have abolished capitalist private property and opened up new possibilities for the advancement of the exploited classes. However, our critical attitude may coincide in many respects with that of sincere liberals and democrats.

To make his "democratic" perspectives more credible, Carrillo is obliged to extend them to the Soviet Union and East Europe:

It is a clear necessity that in the established socialist regimes themselves, above all those that have achieved a certain level of economic development, there must be channels for such criticism and it must not be repressed by methods that are intolerable.

In fact, Carrillo concludes his book by saying:

The advances of the socialist movement in the developed capitalist countries can help Soviet society and the Soviet Communists to overcome this kind of state [i.e., one that "not only tends to rise above its own society but those of other countries"] and to take steps forward to transforming it into a genuine state based on workers democracy. This is a historic necessity and will be a great boon for the cause of socialism in the entire world, destroying the basis for much bourgeois propaganda. For this reason, it is all the more lamentable that in 1968 the Czech comrades were not allowed to continue their experiment.

The limitations of Carrillo's idea of a "democratic" state are indicated by the fact that the examples he gives of democratic pluralism are the Spanish republic during the civil war and the governments of the "people's republics" as originally conceived.

However, Carrillo is not only obliged to offer a perspective for the "democratization" of the Stalinist regimes. He must also promise that the Communist parties themselves will no longer function in a dictatorial way.

The new conceptions of the road to socialism in the developed countries involve certain nuances of change as regards the role and function of the Communist Party. It remains the party of the vanguard, insofar as it genuinely embodies a creative Marxist approach. But it no longer considers itself the *sole* representative of the working class. . . . It regards having contending lines and solutions for concrete problems as normal and helpful . . . and is ready to accept willingly that others may be more correct in their analysis of a concrete situation. . . .

Maintaining the vanguard role of the CPs

requires a rigorous application of *concrete analysis of concrete reality*, which at times means not following the prevailing line but opposing it. The role of vanguard is not a privilege that flows from the name and program. In reality, this has never been true. Nor is it a kind of providential mission that we have been endowed with by our teachers or by some franchise. This is a position that has to be continually earned. Either we make our vanguard role a reality in this way or it will be reduced to an ideological fiction, that at times can serve only to console us for our ineffectiveness.

Carrillo specifically dumps the Stalinist concept of the party line as a kind of religious dogma embracing all areas of public and private life:

Outside of collective political tasks, every party member has a right to free choice in all their intellectual and artistic preferences and inclinations and in their private life and relations. We also recognize that in the fields of theory, culture, and art, as well as scientific investigation in all fields, including the humanistic sciences, all different schools may be represented in the ranks of the party and have the opportunity to debate freely in its cultural organizations and publications.

Sorry About Trotskyist Victims

To convince everyone that the Spanish CP has cleared itself of the totalitarian taint, Carrillo tries to deal with the most revolting and sinister episode in the party's past—its big-lie campaign against the Spanish Trotskyists and its complicity in the physical liquidation of anti-Stalinist left communists by Stalin's secret police.

Carrillo claims that the Spanish CP never accepted the worst features of Stalinism and that it had no direct responsibility in its crimes. What is more, Carrillo is ready to be "objective" about Trotsky and the Trotskyists.

When the Popular Front was formed, just as the struggle against Trotskyism was reaching its height in the Soviet Union and the Communist International, the [Spanish] Communist Party agreed to include the Spanish Trotskyists [that is, the POUM, a centrist organization, some of whose leaders had been Trotskyists] in the Popular Front, and even collaborated with them for a while in the government of the Generalitat in Catalonia.

Carrillo admits that the question of the Trotskyists is an awkward one for his party:

Of course, there has been a lot of talk about the Trotskyists and the Spanish civil war and this is starting up again. There is no doubt that part of what is involved in this is anti-Communist propaganda. But this should not lead us to deny the right of persons or groups unjustly accused of being "fascist agents" to rehabilitation, even if belated.

Carrillo acknowledges that the Spanish CP accepted the slanders that Trotskyists were fascist agents. Part of the reason was their trust in the Soviet leaders of "the first workers state." But they also had some

"objective" reasons for believing this:

How could this version [that POUM leader Andreu Nin fled to join the fascists] have seemed believable in 1937? This may appear strange to those who did not live through that period. They may connect it only with the persecution of the Trotskyists, and the acceptance of Stalin's policy. But even if this were one of the reasons, it would not fully explain the credibility the story about Nin had.

There was something else, which was more important. In May 1937, there was an armed putsch in which the POUM and some anarchist sectors participated, against the government of the republic. . . . We were in the midst of a war against fascism. The putsch meant opening the front to the fascist forces, since some of the troops on the front lines were withdrawn to participate in the putsch, and others had to be withdrawn to put it down.

This is "Eurocommunist" Carrillo's description of the workers uprising in Barcelona against the bourgeois government of the republic, a rebellion that was crushed by the bourgeois forces with the support of the Stalinists. Carrillo's argument shows that his claims of "objectivity" as regards the Trotskyists is only a tactical retreat from positions that cannot be defended and that have become an acute embarrassment. As for the actual murder of Nin, Carrillo decided just to stonewall it.

I can say that the leading bodies of the Communist Party had no material responsibility for this act, and if any individual Communists did—and I know of no such thing—they were acting on their own.

For the Good of Capitalist Europe

After outlining all the CP's new democratic attractions, Carrillo makes clear what the practical point of this exercise is:

I think that all this will confirm for our friends and honest enemies that the "Eurocommunist" phenomenon is not a "tactical maneuver by Moscow." . . . Anyone who judges us impartially must recognize that this strategy is not designed to "extend the influence of the Soviet Union" or shift the relationship of military forces on our continent. On this level, it is designed to mitigate the policy of blocs and assure the independence of each one of our countries, and of Europe as a whole, within a socialist perspective, and to increase the weight of Europe in maintaining peace, international cooperation, as in establishing more equalitarian and democratic international relations, especially with the Third World.

With regard to the question of military alliances, Carrillo reiterates:

For a rather long time, the only guarantee of peace . . . must be a balance of military forces. Taking this as our starting point and pursuing an aim of nonalignment and the overcoming of the policy of blocs, a task for democratic Spain will be, initially, to help mitigate the *bipolar* character of the present balance and make it *multipolar*. Therefore, we do not oppose a phase in which defense would be organized on a continental level in a Europe independent both

of the U.S. and the USSR, so long as this did not destroy the national character of the Spanish armed forces. . . .

In the present conditions, Europe-wide coordination of defense can be a guarantee for both the U.S. and the USSR.

Mystique of Popular Frontism

The final part of Carrillo's book is devoted to arguing: (1) that the "Eurocommunist" line represents a continuation of the basic policies of the West European CPs and the Soviet leadership itself; (2) that carrying out these policies was impeded in the past by too much direct Soviet interference and too close an identification of the Western parties with the regime in the USSR.

In particular, Carrillo contends that Stalin prevented the French CP from making the popular-front government more militant by actually participating in it:

Today we know, for instance, that there were important differences between the Comintern and the French Communists as regards the Popular Front. Maurice Thorez favored CP participation in the government after its victory in Paris. The Comintern was opposed. . . . This was not merely a secondary difference. It was not a matter of simply whether or not the CP leadership held ministerial portfolios. It was a fundamental question; it involved the content and scope of the Popular Front. A Popular Front without Communist participation in the government was one thing; with Communist participation, it was something else. In different conditions, in the context of war, this was shown in Spain.

The French popular-front government of the 1930s obviously does not have a very good reputation in Spain, since it stood by while fascist Germany and Italy intervened on the side of Franco's fascist rebellion.

Carrillo argues, moreover, that the outcome in Spain would have been different if the CP had participated in the republican government from the first. If the CP had been in the government, he says, the fascist uprising might have been defeated in the entire country, preventing Franco from launching the civil war. Likewise, if the CP in France had been in the popular-front government there, "the fate of Spain and Europe might have been different."

On the other hand, Carrillo denies that the Soviet Union held back the radicalization in Spain after the civil war began:

There are those who try to explain the maintenance of democratic forms as the result of a *demand* by the Soviet Union, for whose foreign policy it would have been inconvenient for the situation to radicalize too much. This is a one-sided view. Economically and socially, the radicalization could hardly have gone further.

Carrillo quotes a letter to the republican government's premier, Largo Caballero, signed by Stalin, Molotov, and Voroshilov, calling for maintaining "democratic" coop-

eration with the bourgeois parties. Carrillo comments that while this may have been a ruse on Stalin's part, such recommendations were accepted in good faith by the Spanish CP, and they were not responsible for such things as the CP takeovers in Eastern Europe,

Although some have seen this conception as a passing tactic of the Soviet party—and judging from things that happened later these critics may have been right—many of us took completely seriously the possibility of such a road, which was later confirmed more or less fully by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and corresponds to our conception of the democratic road to socialism.

Carrillo concludes his argument as follows:

Thus, although more out of revolutionary intuition than deep theoretical elaboration and analysis, our policy in the Popular Front period comprised an embryo of our conception of advancing to socialism with democracy, with a multiparty system, parliament, and freedom for the opposition.

'Dictatorship of the Proletariat'

As another example of this conception of "advancing to socialism with democracy," Carrillo mentions the fact that in Italy and France the CPs participated in the postwar governments and did not forcibly resist when they were ejected by parliamentary means.

Further on, Carrillo offers another example:

In 1946 and 1947, if my memory serves, at certain very high levels, without the participation of most CPs, there was at least an exchange of views on the possibility that the People's Democracies [the East European states] which then had a pluralist system, could undergo the transition from capitalism to socialism without passing through the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In some circles in our movement, they say that Dimitrov supported this theory and Stalin rejected it. What is certain is that for a period no one characterized the People's Democracies as dictatorships of the proletariat; later they started saying that these states "fulfilled the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat," and still later they began applying this term to them openly.

It should be recalled also that at certain times Soviet theoreticians have spoken of Egypt as a country where socialist transformations were taking place, although there is nothing in Egypt that can be confused with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is in this context that Carrillo explains the reason for dropping the call for a dictatorship of the proletariat from his party's program:

In reality the Communists' lack of democratic "credibility" in some sections of the population in our countries is not connected to our own activity and our own policy so much as to the fact that in countries where capitalist property has disappeared and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, with a one-party system being the general rule, there have been grave bureaucratic deformations and even

very grave degenerative processes.

The contradiction is that for many years, while we followed democratic practices, we adopted and defended that model as our own. This was justified when the USSR was the only socialist country. But it ceased to be so after the Second World War, when the relationship of forces worldwide changed radically.

Lenin's Goal vs. Stalin's Regime

Partly to defend the Spanish CP's attitude toward the bourgeois state (which does not differ from the one always held by Stalinists), Carrillo makes very sharp criticisms of the kind of state that developed under Stalinist rule.

The new state that emerged from the revolution found itself forced to create a *special repressive force*. And under Stalin, this force ended up dominating the entire society; the rest of the state apparatus, including the army; and the party. It even extended its arm to the people's democracies, where the repression continued with the monstrous trials at the end of the 1940s and beginning of the 1950s. . . .

The ideal workers state that Lenin imagined as one in which the armed proletariat, the functionaries considered to be simple "clerks," paid workers wages and recallable at any time, was going to replace the bureaucracy, the standing army, and the special repressive bodies, after fifty years cannot be seen anywhere. In its place has grown up a monstrous state apparatus standing above the society. . . .

If all states are instruments of the rule of one class over another, and in the Soviet Union there are no antagonistic classes, and there is no objective need to repress other classes, whom does this state rule over?

The October revolution has produced a state that obviously is not a bourgeois state but neither is it yet the proletariat organized as a ruling class; it is not yet a genuine workers democracy.

Within this state, the Stalinist phenomenon grew up and operated, with a series of *formal* features similar to those of fascist dictatorships. However, the essence of the Soviet social system is radically opposed to that of fascism. This is not just a theoretical evaluation but a fact demonstrated with the blood of the Soviet peoples during the Second World War. And the revolutionary essence of this social system has been repeatedly demonstrated by solidarity with the peoples struggling against fascism and imperialism.

Carrillo is certainly aware that the Spanish CP is not going to convince anyone that it is not a totalitarian-minded party if it denies the facts of bureaucratic dictatorship in the USSR, which have long been obvious to anyone who cares to look. Only someone totally cynical or hypnotized could deny the truth about the Soviet Union. Carrillo says:

Some comrades consider that admitting the truth is a crime against internationalism.

But today in the workers and Communist movement, these questions are being raised more or less openly . . . and not as a result of "bourgeois propaganda," as the conformists claim, but simply because the evidence of the real situation cannot be denied. How can we Communists, who justly consider ourselves a vanguard, be the last . . . to face the facts?

Carrillo specifically rejects the Soviet bureaucracy's argument that the future of the CPs in Western Europe depends on defending the prestige of the USSR and that their attractiveness depends on the Kremlin's image. In this distorted way, motivated by his own narrow interests, he ends up in conflict with the completely counterrevolutionary positions of "socialism in one country." Citing a speech by Kissinger about the danger to world capitalism represented by the increasing strength of the West European CPs, Carrillo writes:

He [Kissinger] does not care about the balance of military forces. This balance is not determined by alliances or even by bases as much as by the development of nuclear weapons. The alliances could vanish and the balance would remain. What worries him is that the social system may change in Western Europe. The importance of the alliance always "went beyond military security." He does not think of the alliance in terms of military defense but of the military pressure of the alliance against the social changes that every country wants to introduce democratically.

This confession is important also because it disarms certain simplistic dogmatic arguments according to which an independent position toward the USSR amounts to coming closer to American imperialism. In reality, the American imperialists are more worried by Communist parties taking independent and democratic positions than they are by those that are dogmatic and sectarian. Such dogmatic and sectarian CPs could hardly achieve and maintain positions in the government of a developed country in the capitalist West.

Is Carrillo the Nightmare That Keeps Wall Street Awake?

Are the American imperialists worried by the Carrillos? Isn't it more likely that their nightmare is mass movements headed by young revolutionists who hold the Carrillos in absolute contempt?

Carrillo winds up by stressing two points:

1. The reality must now be accepted that there are various tendencies in the world Communist movement.

2. The "democratic transformations" achieved by the CPs in the West will also promote democratic changes in the East.

In all, Carrillo remains completely within the general premises of Stalinist politics as practiced in the European capitalist countries since the mid-1930s. But in attempting to adapt these perspectives to the present political attitudes and forces in Western Europe, so as to present a consistently attractive picture of the "transformations" the CPs can win by participating in coalition governments, Carrillo has been forced to peel away some of the dogmas and myths that the ruling bureaucracies need to defend their regimes.

In this way, Carrillo has come to represent a new threat to them, and ultimately to Stalinism itself. □

AROUND THE WORLD



Riesnik Released by Argentine Kidnappers

After being held in a clandestine jail for six days and brutally tortured by armed forces personnel, Pablo Riesnik was released May 31.

Riesnik was a leader of the Argentine student movement and was the editor of the Trotskyist newspaper *Política Obrera* until its publication was suspended after the March 1976 military coup. He had been kidnapped in Buenos Aires May 25.

A campaign for Riesnik's release began immediately after he disappeared. Support was received from Nobel laureate Laurent Schwartz, Amnesty International, the International League for Human Rights, the trade-union federation Force Ouvrière in France, and student leaders at the University of São Paulo in Brazil.

Riesnik's release was announced in a June 6 leaflet distributed by the Unión de Juventudes por el Socialismo (Union of Youth for Socialism). The leaflet listed three other student activists kidnapped during the past year about whom nothing is known:

"*Daniel Angel Roman*, twenty-two years old, student of economic science at the University of Mar del Plata . . . was kidnapped June 19, 1976, at the house where he lived with his parents. Four persons dressed in civilian clothes who said they were from the Investigations Brigade forced him into a car. . . . Daniel Roman was on the electoral lists of our student youth in the economics school in 1973 and 1974.

"*Susana Huerta*, twenty-two years old, a medical student at the University of Córdoba, was kidnapped in mid-April. . . . She has been a member of the UJS since 1974. All inquiries made by her parents have had negative results.

"*Alberto Hojman*, law student at the University of Buenos Aires, twenty years old, was kidnapped on the street in downtown Buenos Aires April 28. He joined the UJS in 1974. . . .

"All of them have been known, like Pablo Riesnik, as conscientious fighters for the independent organization of the masses and the student youth, and against terrorist methods. A year after their disappearance, we demand that their families be informed of their whereabouts and that they be set free immediately."

Carter OKs Arms Sale To Israel

President Carter will recommend to

Congress approval of an Israeli request to purchase \$115 million worth of arms, administration sources said June 25.

The proposed sale of 200 wire-guided antitank missiles, 700 M-13 armored personnel carriers, and 15 M-728 tank bulldozers corresponds to a request made by the Israeli government in December 1976. Carter approved sales of \$200 million in tanks and howitzers to Tel Aviv in March.

The recommendation comes on the eve of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's visit to Washington. According to the June 26 *New York Times*, White House sources said it was intended to "build confidence and increase the momentum for a Middle East peace agreement."

'Vanishing' Oil Turns a Big Profit

Almost 40 million barrels of lower-cost, price-controlled oil vanished in 1976, according to reports filed with the Federal Energy Administration.

The oil, which "disappeared" on paper, came from wells in production before 1972. This so-called old oil is required to be sold at about \$5.25 a barrel. The old oil enters the FEA's accounting system as it flows from the well. But the amount shrinks by 108,000 barrels a day by the time a second tabulation is taken when it reaches the refinery.

The solution to the mystery is a swindle that cost consumers an extra \$250 million. Government investigators say that producers illegally sold their old oil as post-1973 "new" oil, which commands twice the price—more than \$11.

"There is a human tendency here," FEA Administrator John O'Leary explained philosophically. "If oil sells for about \$5 from one well, and over \$11 from another, this is bound to happen."

Junta Unwraps 'Peasant Army'

The Ethiopian military junta unveiled its new "peasant army" at a massive ceremony in Addis Ababa June 25.

A column of eight divisions of the militia, numbering up to 100,000 troops, marched through the city carrying Soviet rifles while eight American F-5 jet fighters flew overhead. As they marched, the troops chanted, "death, death."

Head of state Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam told the large crowd of onlookers, "This is a force organized to completely

crush once and for all those elements like the Ethiopian Democratic Union, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party and the reactionary Eritrean secessionist groups. . . ."

The Ethiopian Democratic Union is a generally rightist force fighting against the regime in several northern provinces. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party is an underground leftist group based in Addis Ababa and other major cities; it is opposed to the military junta and favors the establishment of a civilian regime. The Eritrean groups have been fighting for years against the Ethiopian regime—under both the late Emperor Haile Selassie and the current military junta—for the independence of the northern territory of Eritrea. The Eritrean freedom struggle is the biggest challenge the junta faces at this point.

A few days later, there were reports that Mengistu had begun to airlift regular army reinforcements and some initial units of the "peasant army" to join the war against the Eritreans. Some troops were also sent southward to fight against Somali nationalist forces in the Ogaden desert region.

Israel Helps Arm Rhodesian Racists

Israel has given Rhodesia permission to produce its "Uzi" submachine gun, according to a report in the May 25 issue of *Bemahane*, the official newspaper of the Israeli Defense Forces. This will mark the first time Rhodesia will fully manufacture its own weapons.

The Rhodesian Uzi will be called the "Ruzi." In addition to arming the Rhodesian army and police, *Bemahane* reports that the weapon will be sold to white Rhodesian citizens for about \$100.

Special Rates for KGB Subscribers?

A new monthly journal called *Police and Nation* has appeared in Paris, according to a report in the June 15 issue of the Australian Trotskyist publication the *Militant*.

It is aimed at "police affairs and all those who are concerned for the safety of citizens and protection of their property." It promises that "the police, as a public service, as citizens, will be able to play their full role in working for a more just and safer society."

The journal is produced by the French Communist Party.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



13,000 in France Say 'No' to Nuclear Power

Ten thousand persons streamed into Nogent-sur-Seine, 100 kilometers southeast of Paris on June 26, the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported in its June 27 issue. In addition, 3,000 persons participated in two smaller rallies in other cities the same day.

Arriving in chartered buses, automobiles, and on bicycles, demonstrators at Nogent-sur-Seine marched four kilometers to a rally at the site of a proposed nuclear plant. They carried banners with the names of the various organizations sponsoring the demonstration, including the Socialist Party, French Democratic Confederation of Labor, United Socialist Party, and the Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International. They chanted, "Inactive today—radioactive tomorrow."

In the other demonstrations, 2,000 persons, including a contingent from Belgium, marched in Gravelines, a northern city near Calais, and 1,000 in Paluel in the Paris region.

The June 26 actions were the first round of a month-long offensive projected by antinuclear groups throughout France.

Future targets of the campaign include demonstrations to be held at nuclear plant construction sites in Gerstheim, Chalon-sur-Saône, and Flamanville, culminating in a national demonstration on July 30 at the Creys-Malville site of the "Superphénix" breeder reactor.

Another Setback for Bonn's Nuclear Plans

An interim congress of the Free Democratic Party of West Germany voted June 26 to oppose the construction of nuclear power plants until problems of fuel reprocessing and storage are solved.

The FDP, a small bourgeois party, is the coalition partner of the much larger Social Democratic Party. The vote goes against government policy and also against the position taken by the FDP leadership.

The decision will cause the government more difficulties in implementing its nuclear development program. The Social Democrats have been divided on nuclear power for some time. Breeder reactor

research funds were frozen in May after dissident Social Democratic members of parliament threatened to vote against the entire budget, a move that could have brought down the government.

Meltdown—Nothing Urgent

U.S. nuclear plants have two batteries that serve as emergency power sources. If a plant's normal electricity supply is cut off, the batteries are to ensure that emergency cooling systems function to prevent a "meltdown"—the worst type of reactor accident.

A meltdown accident, in which the nuclear fuel melts, can lead to a steam explosion and the breaching of the reactor's containment shield. Massive quantities of radioactive poisons can then escape, endangering the lives of tens of thousands of persons.

A private consultant, E.P. Epler, has reported to the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) that there have been fifty incidents of failure in emergency battery systems in half of the nuclear plants in the U.S. Epler believes present design could result in a complete loss of power to the emergency core cooling system if only one battery went dead. He has urged the NRC to consider design changes in the batteries.

The NRC has decided to conduct a year-long study to see if Epler is right. Faust Rosa, who will head the study, takes this attitude to his job: "We don't think it's an urgent problem but I think to clear the record we should look at it" (Associated Press, June 16).

Free Bus Rides, Free Eats Bring Out the Fans of Nuclear Power Plants

Mobilized in large part by electric utility companies and construction union bureaucrats, 3,000 persons marched in a pronuclear demonstration in Manchester, New Hampshire, on June 26.

The action was sponsored by the "New Hampshire Voice of Energy," which claims to be organized by the wives of construction workers. It has received \$1,500 from the Public Service Company

(PSC) of New Hampshire.

The PSC is building a nuclear plant at Seabrook, New Hampshire. The march and rally in Manchester were billed as a response to the April 30-May 1 protests at Seabrook in which 1,414 persons were arrested.

The Long Island Lighting Company (Lilco), the Narragansett Electric Company of Rhode Island, and Boston Edison all offered their employees free transportation to the rally. Narragansett offered free box lunches in addition. Lilco made it free lunches and free dinners. A number of construction-trades unions also brought busloads of members.

Speakers attacked "no-growth philosophy" and the "Arab oil cartel" and claimed nuclear power is clean, safe, and inexpensive. New Hampshire Governor Meldrim Thomson, who ordered the May 1 arrests, told the crowd, "This is a much better audience than what I saw on the first of May."

The featured speaker was Professor Norman Rasmussen of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Rasmussen is on the board of directors of an electric company and is the author of an official government report on nuclear plant safety. His optimistic conclusions on that topic have been repeatedly challenged by scientists and nuclear opponents.*

Internal government documents made public in April included a letter Rasmussen wrote to the Atomic Energy Commission before preparing the report. Major parts of the study, he said, presented "a manageable task that might have significant benefit for the nuclear industry." He also said great care should be taken because "once we start our results may become public knowledge and almost surely will be used by critics in ways that we feel are inappropriate."

A message was sent to the Manchester gathering by Peter Brennan, a former construction-union bureaucrat. Before serving as Nixon's secretary of labor,

*See "Washington's Cover-up on 'Nuclear Safety,'" *Intercontinental Press*, November 24, 1975, p. 1652.

Brennan defended violent attacks on antiwar demonstrations in New York City.

'Serious Threat' to Water Supplies

Land disposal of industrial wastes is a "serious threat" to ground water quality in the United States, according to a preliminary report prepared for the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

The report says that toxic mercury, cyanide, arsenic, lead, and cancer-causing organic solvents have migrated into ground water from industrial landfills and waste-water ponds in eleven states. Researchers tested forty-eight disposal sites in eleven states; at forty-six of them they

found pollution problems of this kind.

About 50 percent of the U.S. population draws its drinking water from ground supplies.

Hugh Kaufman, the EPA project officer who made the preliminary report available to the news media, has been removed from his post, threatened with suspension, and accused of violating the policy of the agency by making the information public.

According to a report in the June 1 *New York Times*, Kaufman said it is "important for the preliminary report to be released because the regulations to curb the contamination of ground water are now being written and the report could alert the public to the seriousness of the problem."

The Clinch River Breeder Reactor

By Fred Murphy

The U.S. Senate and House of Representatives are debating whether to go ahead with the project to build a commercial-scale "fast breeder" nuclear power plant in the United States.

The Carter administration has proposed "a pause in the commercialization program" and cancellation of plans for a \$2 billion, 380-megawatt fast breeder reactor at Clinch River, Tennessee. But an intensive lobbying campaign is being conducted by the nuclear and electric utilities industries to keep funds for the project in the government's 1978 budget.

Fast breeders produce more nuclear fuel than they consume. They have been a central goal of the nuclear industry and have been touted as a long-term answer to the "energy crisis." But they are even more dangerous than the "light-water" reactors currently in operation in the United States:

In the event of a meltdown [overheating and consequent melting of the reactor core], the breeder's highly enriched fuel can rearrange itself into a more compact configuration with the possibility of small nuclear explosions of sufficient force to breach the reactor containment. There are major uncertainties in defining the explosive potential of the breeder, which are all the more worrisome considering that the reactor will have several tons of plutonium in it. ["A Poor Buy," by Thomas Cochran et al., *Environment* magazine, June 1975, p. 14.]

Besides being the preferred material for nuclear weapons—six to nine kilograms is sufficient to produce an explosion—plutonium is the most poisonous substance known. Minute quantities can cause cancer. And it is highly reactive chemically, susceptible to spontaneously bursting into flame.

In addition to plutonium, another hazard associated with fast breeder reactors is the use of large quantities of liquid sodium metal in the cooling systems. (Water cannot be used, since it would slow down the nuclear reaction.) Sodium is so

chemically unstable that it explodes upon contact with water or air.

Thus there are severe safety problems in breeder reactors. Some research work is being done to overcome these, but the target date for completion is 1986—two years after the Clinch River reactor is currently scheduled to go into operation!

Such a backward approach led Sheldon Novick, a prominent American critic of nuclear power, to write:

... what we do not know now is whether LMFBRs [liquid-metal fast breeder reactors] are safe enough to build. And the research involved is the construction and operation of a large number of commercial LMFBRs. The laboratory is the United States, and if the experiments turn out poorly we will have lost \$10 billion and a great deal of time and opportunity. We may also find that the outcome of the experiment is the worst disaster of peacetime history. It may, indeed, result in a nuclear explosion spreading radioactivity . . . over a populated area. [*Environment*, June 1975, p. 11.]

But such considerations have been virtually absent in the controversy brewing in Washington over the Clinch River project, although some opponents have pointed to a confidential 1973 memo produced by an engineering consulting firm. The memo called the plant's location "one of the worst sites ever selected for a nuclear power plant based on topography and rock conditions."

For the most part, both sides agree that breeders will one day be built. Testifying before a House committee, State Department official Joseph Nye said Carter is "proposing to reduce the funding for the existing breeder program and to redirect it toward evaluation of alternative breeders. . . ." He continued:

If one looks at the entire . . . breeder reactor budget one can see that the United States has not ruled out the breeder option for the future. The overall amended funding level of \$483

million for breeder R&D [research and development] is not a trivial level of effort. By indefinitely postponing the Clinch River Breeder option the program will have a broader focus. . . .

Carter's main concern (at least in public) has been that circulation of large quantities of plutonium will spur proliferation of nuclear weapons. The U.S. ruling class is worried lest the prerogative of using atomic bombs slip further out of its grasp. So Carter is not only reassessing the American breeder program but has been on a campaign to get the other capitalist nuclear powers to do the same. This would also help to restore a U.S. monopoly on uranium fuel, probably a major unspoken consideration in White House thinking.

The effort has met with mixed results. Paris is proceeding with the Superphénix project, a full-scale breeder reactor, while the British government has announced a halt in its breeder program until a "public inquiry" is held. Domestic opposition in West Germany has forced a freeze on breeder research there.

The Carter administration also notes that projected future energy demand has fallen substantially since the Clinch River project was initiated. Things can thus be slowed down as a concession to opponents of nuclear power.

Nevertheless, phasing out Clinch River faces stiff opposition. Three giant corporations—Westinghouse, General Electric, and Rockwell International—stand to lose huge government contracts if the project is canceled. Westinghouse has sought and received support in its lobbying effort from the governments of Japan, West Germany, France, Great Britain, and Iran.

The trade-union bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO has also been active in support of the Clinch River breeder, on the grounds that more nuclear plants will mean more jobs. In reality, no more than 200 persons will be employed at the Tennessee plant once construction is completed, and of all energy sources nuclear power provides the least number of jobs in relation to investment.

An unlikely opponent of the Clinch River project is Admiral Hyman Rickover. An early proponent of nuclear power, Rickover led the U.S. Navy's shift to atomic submarines. But his pet project these days is the development of breeder reactors based on thorium and uranium 233 instead of plutonium. He is currently working on a plan to convert an old light-water reactor at Shippingport, Pennsylvania, that once powered a nuclear submarine into a thorium-based breeder.

Carter, who served in the navy as a nuclear engineer under Rickover, met with the admiral at least twice before announcing his proposals for phasing out Clinch River. He has already accepted Rickover's invitation to attend ceremonies at Shippingport in November to launch the thorium project. □

Selections From the Left

Bandera Socialista

"*Socialist Flag*," the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party. Published in Mexico City.

Protests against the murder of Alfonso Peralta, a leading member of the Revolutionary Workers Party, continue to grow, the June 15 issue reports.

Peralta was gunned down in Mexico City May 12 as he came out of a classroom at the Azcapotzalco branch of the College of Sciences and Humanities, where he taught history.

The first part of June, the article reports, was marked by daily demonstrations, many of which demanded that the killers of Peralta be brought to justice.

On June 10, "more than 20,000 teachers, students, workers, and others held a moving demonstration and a spirited rally. The march went from the Diana Movie Theatre traffic circle to the Hemiciclo a Juárez, the length of the Paseo de la Reforma [one of the main thoroughfares of Mexico City]. The actions focused on denouncing the repression and provocation involved in the murder of our comrade Alfonso Peralta."

Other actions protesting the killing included a strike June 7 at the Colleges of Sciences and Humanities and a rally the following day at Che Guevara Auditorium. *Bandera Socialista* comments:

"The one-day strike at the five Colleges of Sciences and Humanities of the Autonomous National University of Mexico was significant for several reasons. It was the first coordinated action carried out in a long time by the colleges. The initiative came from the Azcapotzalco branch, where Peralta was killed. All the other branches joined in immediately."

The rally at Che Guevara Auditorium was organized by several locals of STU-NAM, the union representing university workers and professors, which Peralta was a leader of. Several student groups also helped organize the meeting.

Speakers included representatives of the Mexican Communist Party, the Socialist League, the Marxist Workers League, the Revolutionary Workers Party, and several trade unions.

DIRECT ACTION

Socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia. Presents the views of the Socialist Workers Party.

"In one of the most undemocratic moves ever seen in the Australian student movement the Students for Australian Independence have stolen the Australian

Union of Students' paper *National U*," Dave Deutschmann reports in the June 23 issue.

"Jefferson Lee, the Media Officer of AUS and a Maoist supporter of the SAI, produced a pirate edition of *National U* on June 13. The paper was secretly printed and billed to AUS after the publisher of the paper, AUS President Peter O'Connor, had refused permission for AUS to publish the paper while it contained unnecessary libellous material. . . .

"The struggle to defend and build AUS has now entered a new stage with the Maoists and right wing openly uniting in a campaign against the 'AUS bureaucrats.'"

"Instead of attempting to defend and build AUS, Lee and the Maoist thugs who have taken control of the paper have used *National U* to spearhead a desperate drive into the student movement."

Deutschmann describes the reaction inside AUS to the Maoist takeover.

"... an extraordinary resolution has been presented to AUS and is presently being circulated to campuses around the country. The resolution calls for the dismissal of Jefferson Lee as the Media Officer of AUS and was unanimously adopted at a meeting of students at Newnham College of Advanced Education in Tasmania. . . .

"The dismissal motion—an expression of the basic right of recall of an officer in a student union—will be debated on campuses in coming weeks."

TIESA

"*Truth*," organ of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR. Published daily in Vilnius.

The June 2 issue carries the speech of the first secretary of the Lithuanian CP, P. Griskevicius, to the plenum of the local party on May 31. This speech was given just after Brezhnev's report on the new Soviet constitution and a few days before the text was published in the Soviet press on June 4.

Griskevicius's speech makes clear how much the government is promising the Soviet people in order to whip up enthusiasm for the new constitution. He begins:

Comrades! The working people of Soviet Lithuania are self-sacrificingly carrying out the resolutions of the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). They are self-sacrificingly carrying out the party's economic policy, whose highest aim is to increase the material well-being and raise the cultural level of the Soviet people.

This great new creative enthusiasm and productive activity of the working people inspired the resolutions of the historic May 1977 plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the positions and conclusions laid out in the clear and meaty report to the plenum by General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU Comrade L. Brezhnev. The great gains achieved by the Soviet people, under the leadership of the party of Lenin, the rising material and cultural level and the achievement of extensive human rights, are fully reflected in the new draft constitution of the USSR . . . which was unanimously accepted by the Central Committee of the CPSU.

In the program of social development for Soviet society, a special place is devoted to improving all aspects of the economic position and living standards of citizens, to the maximum satisfaction of the daily needs of the people. All of this is being done to assure that the people will have a high morale and that they will be able to use their time more profitably, as well as to create the best conditions for a richer and more cultured life, for the harmonious development of individuals.

For this five-year plan, we expect the highest economic indexes in the entire history of Soviet Lithuania. The national income, as we know, will increase by 25 percent, and will reach 6.3 billion rubles [1 ruble equals US\$0.75 at the official average rate]. The average wage of blue- and white-collar workers will be raised by 19 percent, rising to 169 rubles per month. . . .

Speaking in the hero-city of Tula, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU Comrade L. Brezhnev once again stressed that "inexorably raising the living standard of the people has been and remains the fundamental aim of all our plans, both in the years most immediately ahead and in the longer perspective."

Such reassurances were repeated throughout the speech over and over again. Apparently this local bureaucrat thought the message needed a lot of reinforcement.

PHILIPPINE LIBERATION COURIER

The official organ of the International Association of Filipino Patriots. Published monthly in Oakland, California.

The May-June issue reports the release from prison of Trinidad Herrera. Herrera is the president of Zone One Tondo Organization (ZOTO), a slum dwellers association in Manila representing 175,000 persons. She was released by the Marcos regime May 13 after international protests against her arrest and torture.

The *Courier* describes the evidence of torture inflicted on her: "Arrested April 26, 1977, Herrera was brought to the Bicutan Reception Center, the martial law regime's main political prison, on May 3. Other prisoners at Bicutan report that Herrera was in a state of shock at this time, and

that it took several days before she could eat or bathe herself. Her lawyer, former Senator Francisco Rodrigo, says that he has several eyewitness reports showing the physical after-effects of electric shock on sensitive parts of Herrera's body."

This evidence prompted Marcos to look for a scapegoat. "After insisting that medical reports showed that Mrs. Herrera had not been tortured, President Marcos later contradicted himself by ordering the court martial of an officer identified by Mrs. Herrera as one of the military men who had tortured her."

In a belated attempt to justify her arrest, Marcos has charged Herrera with having organized the May Day demonstration, in which more than 20,000 persons participated.

"The government is also claiming that ZOTO is a Communist front organization. Supporters of ZOTO in Manila and abroad point out that Herrera's recent arrest is only the latest of the Marcos regime's efforts to harass an organization which has been in the forefront of the struggle to resist government moves to demolish urban poor communities."

**lutte
ouvrière**

"Workers Struggle," Paris weekly supported by a grouping of militants who view themselves as Trotskyist in orientation.

Writing in the June 25 issue, André Victor comments on a recent article in the French CP weekly *France Nouvelle*, in which Henri Fiszbin attempts to justify the CP's support for maintaining the French nuclear arsenal.

Fiszbin concedes that "there were some queries, some questions raised. There were even some protests and disagreements on the part of a certain number of militants. It would have been surprising if things had gone differently. . . . To come out in favor of maintaining nuclear weapons is obviously a major innovation in party policy. . . . The conventional forces have been reduced to such a low level that our national independence could be easily swept aside if we acted otherwise. . . . For example, the awesome might of the German Federal Republic, the spearhead of international imperialism, is a danger that cannot be underestimated."

Victor asks, "With the exception of how the enemy is identified, what is the difference between this call for a strong army and the military policy of the right?"

"Simply this: 'We have always been, we are now, and we shall remain in the forefront of the struggle to ban nuclear weapons, for disarmament and peaceful coexistence. . . . Contrary to the situation today, it is necessary to fight against nuclear weapons.'

"That changes everything! The CP will maintain nuclear weapons, but with private reservations. . . .

"Behind all this verbiage compounded of

deceit, the truth is clear: by accepting nuclear weapons, the CP is pitching in to subsidize the trusts. And if, on the other hand, the strike force is used one day, it will be against the Soviet Union, not the German Federal Republic.

"But this is something the CP cannot openly admit. Therefore, it has to come up with excuses these days that it doesn't believe in itself, and that its members and sympathizers will have a hard time swallowing."

rouge

"Red," revolutionary communist daily, published in Paris.

Jérôme Carrein, aged thirty-six, was sentenced to death on two occasions—July 12, 1976, and February 1, 1977, for the 1975 rape and murder of an eight-year-old girl. On June 23 he was guillotined.

Writing in the June 25-26 issue, David Freiman describes how Carrein learned that he was to be executed:

Thursday, June 23, 4:30 a.m. The guillotine is erected in the courtyard of Douai prison. Inmate No. 2221, confined in Cell 2159505, is awakened by the guards, who are wearing felt slippers. "Get a grip on yourself, your appeal has been rejected." That's how No. 2221 learns that the president of the Republic has not granted him a pardon.

Despite his professed "deep aversion" to capital punishment, French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing personally signed Carrein's death warrant.

Prior to Carrein's execution, no one had been executed in France since July 1976. Since then, several persons sentenced to death for murder had had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment, or had received presidential pardons.

Freiman goes on to describe Carrein's life of degradation and oppression:

Abandoned by his father, Jérôme Carrein had to go to work at the age of fourteen. "It was then that I began drinking," he said at his trial. "When you work on a pile driver, you have no choice. You're with grownups who egg you on without meaning any harm."

At eighteen and a half, he married a fifteen-year-old woman. They had five children. Jérôme Carrein worked as a mason and continued drinking heavily. In 1972 he contracted tuberculosis, and was no longer able to work. He spent time in the hospital, and then in a sanatorium. When he came out, he was alone, all alone. He went downhill little by little, and wound up living in a tent near Arleux Pond. His only emotional tie was with his mother. Shortly before the crime, he went to visit her, and told her: "I'm washed up. I think I'll get drunk, and then I'll kill myself." . . .

The tragic part is that he had to wind up in prison before he could begin to resurrect himself as a human being. But they had put him there in order to kill him. Everyone knows that this will have no effect whatsoever on the rate of child murders. That, of course, is not the function of an exorcism.

young socialist

Monthly newspaper reflecting the views of the Young Socialist Alliance. Published in New York.

The back page of the July-August issue features an interview by Lisa Hickler with Steve Hilgartner, a leader of the Boston Clamshell Alliance. The Clamshell Alliance is a New England antinuclear-power coalition that organized an occupation of 2,000 on April 30 and a demonstration of 1,300 the following day at the site of a proposed nuclear power plant in Seabrook, New Hampshire.

The following are excerpts from the interview:

Question. Why is the Clamshell Alliance opposed to nuclear power?

Answer. First, there are the environmental and safety issues—problems with plant accidents, low-level radiation, and disposal of nuclear wastes.

According to the Brookhaven national laboratory, a nuclear plant accident could conceivably kill 45,000 people. It could injure hundreds of thousands of people and destroy billions of dollars worth of property.

There's also a big problem with low-level radiation. . . .

The Environmental Protection Agency and a number of studies have shown that any dose of radiation, right down to level zero, can have an effect on people. When we start increasing background levels of radiation, we're going to see a higher cancer rate and more birth defects.

The next problem is waste disposal. There's nothing we can do with all the radioactive waste that has been generated by these plants. This waste is going to continue to accumulate at plant sites, and it poses a threat to the health and safety of people in the short term, as well as a long term threat to life on this planet.

Q. How did the Clamshell Alliance get started?

A. Last July there were about half a dozen groups involved in the Clamshell Alliance. Since then we've grown to forty groups throughout New England. I'd estimate about five or six thousand people are involved now. . . .

Q. What other activities is the Clamshell Alliance planning?

A. We are not going to let the Seabrook nuclear power plant be built. There's no question of that.

We're going to hold a Clamshell congress with representatives from all the local groups, and we're going to determine at that time where we go from here. . . .

Q. Do you think the majority of people in this country are opposed to nuclear power?

A. I'd say that the majority of people are very concerned about nuclear power. Many of them have been led to believe that there are no alternatives. . . .

But I think that the tide is quickly changing, and very soon the industry is going to run up against citizen pressure like they've never seen before. . . .

FROM OUR READERS

"I want to congratulate you on the Intercontinental Press," writes a friend in England. "In my judgment—for the little it may be worth—your journal has been improving with every issue. . . . For quite a time now, I read it regularly (I get it through the London branch of Pathfinder Press) and with growing admiration and interest. I think it is a very important source of education, especially for the younger generation in Britain which, alas, suffers from political confusion."

B.D. of Vancouver, British Columbia, sent this note with her renewal subscription:

"I put off renewing until pay day. Hope this gets to N.Y. in time. . . . I definitely do not want to miss the issues dated June 6 & June 13. I hear there's a feature on the Sparts [Spartacist League]! So could you make sure there's no break in my sub & have the renewal start with the June 6 issue?"

We've also had requests for Bob Pearlman's article "Spartacist: The Making of an American Sect" from Massachusetts, New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, and California.

T.P.P. of Toronto, Ontario, writes: "Please send a sub to me—you come highly recommended."

B.E. of Hartford, Connecticut, sent us a special "To whom it may concern" note of appreciation:

"I just want to mention that I enjoy your magazine 'Intercontinental Press' very much. I have a subscription to it, as I have had for the past couple of years.

"I just want to say, keep up the good work."

"Hope this gets to you in time to prevent a gap in my subscription," writes L.B. of Edmonton, Alberta.

"Paycheques don't seem to go very far

these days, but the cost of a subscription to *IP* is one expense that I am only too happy to cover. It has become one of life's necessities!"

Another subscriber, C.B. of Louisville, Kentucky, says:

"I'd like to include a compliment on the recent reportage, but all I have time to say before I give you my new address is:

"GET FRED HALSTEAD TO FINISH HIS BOOK SOON, PLEASE."

D.H., Cleveland, Ohio, sent a change of address with this plea:

"Please hurry, as I have not received an *IP* in about 2 months & I really miss it."

"I finally got some money," says L.R. of Albuquerque, New Mexico. "If I've missed an issue, could you please send it to me? A week without *IP* is like a week w/out sunshine."

We know how that is, so we're rushing through L.R.'s renewal subscription to keep the weather bright and sunny.

S.W. sent in a change of address from Detroit, Michigan, to Salt Lake City, Utah, informing us that he "will be at this new address until the SWP convention, when I expect to see all of you and congratulate you in person for the excellent work which has made Intercontinental Press such essential reading."

J.N. of Toronto, Ontario, advises us that they are having difficulty with the bundle of Intercontinental Press sent to the Vanguard Bookstore. She explains:

Copies Missing?

Keep your files of Intercontinental Press complete and up-to-date. Missing issues for the current year may be ordered by sending 75¢ per copy. Write for information about previous years.

Intercontinental Press
P.O. Box 116
Varick Street Station
New York, N.Y. 10014



"I think one reason this bundle sometimes arrives late is because the envelope comes apart in the mail. I've noticed that every third or so time the bundle has to be rewrapped by the Post Office. The Canadian Post Office has just introduced what is supposed to be the most advanced in mechanized postal sorting equipment. It seems to have quite a reputation for mangling up mail!"

P.N., who moved from Cleveland Heights, Ohio, to Tacoma, Washington, writes:

"I expect that I will begin to experience some of the Post Office's legendary *IP* service now that my subscription has some distance to travel."

"Have not yet received 3/14 issue, although 3/21 has arrived," C.S. of Seattle, Washington, informs us.

"Please—I don't mind them a bit late but out of order drives me crazy. Am switching to 1st-class in hopes situation will improve."

L.N., San Francisco, California, says that he hasn't received his "IP #14. This is the 1st time the mail service has gotten around to me."

A reader in Berkeley, California, sent the following newspaper clipping:

"*Postmasters' pay*. The U.S. Postal Service is going to let the public know how much postmasters make. And this is making many postmasters angry. A spokesman for the postmasters said 'If a postmaster's salary is published, people in the town who make less money are bound to be resentful.'"

Probably not as resentful as having no Saturday mail deliveries. □